

NATIONAL REPUBLIC

A Monthly Magazine of Fundamental Americanism

June 1955

Flags
OF OUR
Country

1775

1777

1794

1955



NATIONAL REPUBLIC

A Magazine of Fundamental Americanism



"LET US RAISE A STANDARD TO WHICH THE WISE AND THE HONEST MAY REPAIR."

—WASHINGTON.

"THAT GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE, SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH."—LINCOLN.

Published every month by
NATIONAL REPUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.
Editorial and Business Office: 511 Eleventh
Street, N. W., Washington 4, D. C. Branch
Office: 605 Broad Street, Newark 2, N. J.
Price: 30 cents per copy, \$3.50 per year.

Entered as Second Class Matter, July 6, 1918, at the Post
Office at Wash., D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. XLIII JUNE, 1955 No. 2

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FEATURED in this issue . . .

DETAILS OF THE GIGANTIC TRAGEDY that envelopes China are given by Hon. B. Carroll Reece, of Tennessee, on Page 1 of this issue. Mr. Reece, long eminent in Congress, avails himself of documentary proof in his article showing that an enormous traffic in opium is one of the sources of Red China's exploitation of the people. The drug traffic is used, also, in degrading American and other prisoners of war. American inquiries into the heroin and other drug trade of Red China indicate that the business produces about \$800 million a year, of which about one-third is used in subversion and sabotage in victim countries, and the rest employed in destroying opposition to the Peiping dictatorship and in further brutalization of the people.

WHAT ABOUT THAT MEETING OF THE "Big Four" at the summit? The world waits with bated breath for the face-to-face encounter of Western heads of state, with the new dictators of the Soviet Union. On one side is civilization, liberty, individual dignity; on the other, barbarism, slavery, degradation; half of the human race on one side and half on the other. It could be one of the turning-points of humanity's history. Ira E. Bennett (Page 3) speculates upon the possibilities and probabilities of this historic encounter.

THE NEVER-CEASING INTRIGUES to collectivize Americans now extend into school athletics, as revealed by Jo Hindman (Page 5). The Reds at first cultivated mass effort in athletics and discouraged individual prowess, with the result that Russian athletes soon dropped into losing places in Olympic games. Then a change was made, to encourage the natural ambitions of youth to excel, and soon the boys from the Soviet were again in the lead. Now the National Educational Association for some strange reason adopts the mass method and proposes the suppression of individual effort.

JUNE, AS FLAG MONTH, is a suitable time for the curious to find out when and where the American Stars and Stripes were first displayed. George W. Grupp, an indefatigable student, furnishes some hints, but the reader is free to make up his own mind. (Page 7).

NO ONE DOUBTS, HOWEVER, when it comes to identifying the pioneers of the art of smear. They were William B. Giles and John Randolph of Roanoke. Fred DeArmond (Page 13) tells how Alexander Hamilton was viciously smeared, and how Henry Clay lost the Presidency because of Randolph's attacks.

IF YOU LOSE IN RUNNING FOR President you'd better quit, concludes Dr. Dan Gilbert (Page 15), because no loser with one strike against him has ever won out.

AMONG OTHER INTERESTING ARTICLES are those by Pearl Martufi, describing the new prayer room in the Capitol (Page 17); Robert H. Webber, on "the people's right to know," (Page 19); Kathryn E. Brown, recalling the romance of Concepcion de Arguello (Page 21); and Marion M. Strack, (Page 22), a revolting example of crackpot brainwashing by "group dynamics" visionaries at Bethel, Maine.

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NATIONAL REPUBLIC

COMMUNISTS PLUNDER CHINA

By **HON. B. CARROLL REECE**

U. S. Representative From Tennessee

THE bitter fruits of Kremlin Communism are now visible throughout all of China. In five years since the Communists took over, with aid and comfort from the Hiss-Acheson-Lattimore cabal in our own State Department, China's 600 million people have been impoverished and degraded by a cruel robber despotism which seeks but one great objective—to reduce all of China to abject subservience to Kremlin discipline.

A vastly expanded traffic in narcotic drugs has become the backbone of the Communist financial program, yielding an estimated \$90 million last year in the world dope traffic. Approximately one-third of this outlaw revenue is left in the country of the final sale, to support Communist sabotage and espionage, the remaining two-thirds being returned to China to enhance the power of the heathen Communist dictatorship. Never before in history has a nation encouraged systematic world expansion of the demoralizing narcotic trade as a basic instrument of fiscal policy.

My summary of the degradation of China comes from the combined reports of some 30 members of the House and Senate who visited the Far East on official Congressional business during the last 15 months. Taken together, these reports present a panorama of plunder and spoliation without parallel in modern history.

Village life in China, the very heart of native culture, has been uprooted by the murder and deportation of all former land owners. As one witness reports:

"Landlords were put to death in mock trials managed by the political workers. In traditional Chinese village life, the land owners, who are poor by standards common in the Western world, usually occupy a respected and useful position in their communities. They are

the civic leaders, the village elders, the philanthropists, the social arbiters. They are now liquidated by the Communists as a social class. In their place are found the young and fiery functionaries trained in the rigorous school of social agitation, little despots in whose hands lies the power of life and death over every individual in the community. Gone is the simple, nonetheless idyllic, life in the village guided by a code of morals and social conduct partly Confucian and partly plain common sense, which had been handed down from generation to generation for thousands of years. Each village is now a miniature Communist dictatorship, presided over by zealots and fanatics often still in their teens."

This is the upshot of the Red slogan, "Land Reform." Under the Communist split-up each new Communist tenant today has less land than the average farmer of pre-Communist days, owner or tenant. In the richer areas of China, the average farm, with five persons per household, comprised 2.5 acres. After the Kremlin-planned land reform, the average farm in the same area today comprises only 1.3 acres, with the same number of persons to support after the dictatorship has made its take.

Instead of the fixed rents formerly paid to the landlords, the slave farmer in Red China sees 60 per cent of his total production confiscated by local taxes and forced contributions to the national food pool. Where the food goes from the national food pool is a world mystery. Nobody in China gets enough to eat. There is no accounting for shipments to Russia, or to other Communist areas.

"As a result of these cruel impositions, many farmers have burned their crops, flooded their farms, permitted grass and weeds to grow, and let more than the usual acreage



Congressman B. Carroll Reece

lie fallow. This explains why, during the last five years, there has been a famine on the mainland of China every year, claiming the lives of hundreds of thousands of people."

In summary, a recent report from a survey team sent over by the American Federation of Labor concludes:

"The peasants of Communist China are being transformed from small, independent producers into farmhands, who, unprotected by independent unions or other balancing social forces, toil for the most oppressive boss of all time, the monopoly bureaucracy of a total managerial apparatus state."

FOR the industrial worker, the Communist "reform" has been equally abusive. No labor union is legal save it be "under the leadership of the Communist Party." The 12-hour day is now the rule throughout all of China. In the state-owned enterprises, the work day often is stretched to 14 or 16 hours. And each worker then is required to take political indoctrination in his own "spare time." The worker's freedom of movement and selection of employment has been utterly banished.

"By far the most shocking aspect of industrial life in Communist China is the network of slave labor camps . . . patterned after the Soviet models, and set up with the participation of Soviet advisors. Altogether there are some 25 million victims in these camps. Their only crime is that they do not accept and support Communist rule."

Throughout all history the scholar has been the real carrier of civilization and culture in China. But today Communism has declared total war on the scholars. The weapon is a cruel and demoralizing brainwashing technique. University professors, scientists, writers, dramatic artists are forced publicly to recant their personal convictions, and declare themselves advocates of the "new day" of Communism. The Chinese Ministry of Education recently declared: "The important link in the current educational reconstruction is to model our new program after the educational pattern of the Soviet Union."

THIS process involves, first, the burning and destruction of books representing the cream of Chinese culture through the ages.

"The two largest publishing houses of old China carried 27,000 titles, of which some 90 per cent already have been taken out of circulation."

For the present the gap is partially filled by the free circulation of translated Russian books and pamphlets, with special emphasis on school texts and juvenile readers. All books used in the schools and colleges have been rewritten to conform to Communist ideology.

The whole structure of Communism is reared on black and soul-curdling hate. In China, the new policy is to fan hatred, suspicion, and mistrust in every segment of society—workers against owners, farmers against landlords, religion against religion, race against race, young against old. As these social cleavages are nurtured to the roaring flame of mass hatred, human society degenerates to an awesome snakepit, with all fangs exposed in every contact of life.

The family is the basic fabric of Chinese society, which has sustained the national culture for some 5,000 years. Communism seeks to destroy the family and all its profound and beneficent influence in the social structure. Red China permits only one allegiance—to the Communist state. In marriage Red China's Youth Handbook advises: "When choosing a life mate, the Communist youth should look first for



Communists Take Over Such Orphans as These in China, Place Them Under Communist Tutelage. In This Instance Mobbed the Nun, Sister Marie, and Tried Her for Treason in a Mob-Like Court

correct political thoughts, and only afterward for education, temperament, health, and good looks . . ." Such is the Communist plan for the complete atomization of Chinese society. And all this is enforced by state-planned hunger and starvation. The only food available is that distributed by the Communist bureaucracy.

In ten years since the end of World War II, there has not been a month when world Communism has not been engaged in a shooting war of conquest and expansion somewhere—Iran, Greece, Albania, Czechoslovakia, China, Tibet, Korea, Indonesia, and now the witches' broth in Formosa.

In each of these wars, Communism was the unblushing aggressor.

Communism is simply a scheme of military imperialism aimed at world conquest.

But the people of China did not know this when they permitted Communism into their government. Today a blighted China knows the sorry truth. As one famous Chinese scholar in America wrote recently: "After five years of ruthless Communist dictatorship, the Chinese people are firmly convinced that Communism is utterly un-Chinese. It is antagonistic to the Chinese way of life. The Peiping regime regards Confucianism as 'poison,' just as Lenin preached Christianity to be 'the opiate of the people'."

Brutal police-state terrorism keeps the Chinese people reluctantly regimented under the Communist ban-
(See CHINA, Page 31)



The Doom of a Free China was Sealed as the Communists Marched into Peiping as Conquerors in 1949

THE East and the West, personified by the heads of the mightiest states in existence, are to meet soon, face to face. Whatever happens, it will be a historic meeting.

As to possibilities, the imagination kindles when it contemplates an agreement applying to the entire world, commanding the nations to quit their quarrels and remain at peace, to avail themselves of the miracles that await humanity in atomic-energy inventions, and thenceforth to enjoy the blessings of the Golden Age.

Alas, the probabilities destroy day-dreams! Alas for the disappointment that awaits mankind!

Freedom and slavery meet face to face soon. Which will triumph in the antagonism that has existed since Adam was created, and which now divides the world of East and West?

Two ideologies, one advancing with aggressive intent and determination to conquer all nations, and the other determined to fight and die rather than be

secret agreements exist or that their expectations were baseless.

"No peace agreement is possible," we repeat. Why not? Because peace and slavery cannot co-exist in this world. Slavery breeds war. Peace cannot tolerate slavery. Bulganin is not directly or solely answerable for Russian or Chinese slavery, but he cannot agree to any move that would imperil the slave system. Eisenhower cannot fail to oppose slavery, even if he cannot abolish it.

Obviously the best the great leaders can do is to avoid discussion of controversies, such as Korea, Formosa, trade in strategic materials, admission of Red China into the UN, union of Germany, atomic rivalry, disarmament, satellite oppression, etc. These questions are linked together. None of them reaches into the realities of the issue that divides the world—the existence of a slave system as an economic basis for a modern empire.

And yet, if some or all of these disputes remain unsettled, there can be no peace. So long as the Soviet Union succeeds in maintaining its present system the prospect for real peace either in Asia or Europe is dark indeed.

So much for the fundamental division of East and West. But there is a gleam of hope, clouded by doubt, in the possibility that the nations somehow may agree upon development of atomic power for peaceful purposes—if only they could trust one another! If they could be induced to act in good faith they might evolve into a new and better human-kind which could abolish some of the present evils.

President Eisenhower inspired the world by his United Nations address when he pictured the progress that could be attained by development of industrial atom-power. Ever since that time, if the Soviet Union and Red China could be depended upon, the way has been open for transformation of the world. But Mr. Eisenhower was placed in the position of Saint Anthony:

conquered, are now to meet. Which will prevail?

Two gigantic armed nations, each capable of destroying the other and much of mankind with them, are about to approach each other in the hope that they can avoid a collision. This hope rests largely upon the impulses and interactions of the two men chosen by Fate to personify the ancient East and the modern West.

These two men should not be subjected to the ordeal that awaits them. The world demands too much from them. Each is bound as if with iron chains to obey the will of one-half of mankind. Neither one will dare to suggest any change that might be tortured into a gesture of weakness. He would become the victim of a tornado of wrath at home and he would become anathema overnight. If his name is Bulganin, he would suffer death. If his name is Eisenhower, he would become infamous.

Fortune and history will be kind, indeed, to these men if they should separate with as much public confidence and prestige as they now possess.

Many people hold that it was a mistake of diplomacy to call for a meeting of the heads of state while the world is so divided in two hostile camps. No peace agreement is possible—and yet the world expects one. Anything short of a peace agreement may stir up passion and increase danger of war. The two men at the summit, however anxious they may be to preserve peace, may be powerless to quell the whirlwind that may gather if and when the devotees of slavery are robbed of their victims in Asia or when free men discover fresh Communist conspiracies in their countries. The outburst may not come immediately; but is so likely to occur if either or both sides discover that

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY TO MEET FACE TO FACE -- WHICH WILL TRIUMPH?

By IRA E. BENNETT



President Eisenhower to Represent Bulwark of Freedom

"Saint Anthony at church
Was left in the lurch
So he went to the ditches
And preached to the fishes.

"Sharp-anouted pikes,
Who keep fighting like tikes,
Now swam up harmonious
To hear Saint Antonius.
No sermon beside
Had the pikes so edified.

"Crabs and turtles also,
Who always move slow,
Made haste from the bottom,
As if the devil had got 'em.
So sermon beside
Had the crabs so edified.

"The sermon now ended,
Each turned and descended;
The pikes went on stealing,
The eels went on eeling.
Much delighted were they,
But preferred the old way."

So it is with mankind. President Eisenhower did not ask human nature to change. He asked for something that is compatible with the human reluctance to accept changes—the adjustment of human nature to newly discovered truths in nature itself. Sooner or later human nature, even in slave empires, must adjust itself to atomic changes. The progress of other countries, driving forward into glorious achievements and powers, will force those countries to readjust their system of slavery, if nothing else will.

It is a long, long road; and whoever looks for the millennium because of the forthcoming conference will be disappointed. Yet at the end of this long road is a star of hope, dimly shining, promising to bring blessings by developing atomic power. If the Asiatics were as realistic as they think they are, they would gladly cooperate with the West in good faith, because development of atomic power is purely materialistic, of the earth earthy, and therefore in harmony with Soviet "philosophy." They have as much to gain as any other people, and they need to make only one concession—a guarantee of good faith.

UNFORTUNATELY, good faith cannot be recovered once lost. It cannot be observed by the Soviet Union without voluntary abolition of the Iron Curtain, the secret police, slavery, atheism, and above all subversive intrigue. Imaginably the Kremlin might be eager to make a peace agreement based upon good faith, but it could not enforce such an agreement. The fifth-column that operates in every country would not be expected to respect the pact. Traitors like the Quislings of Norway have built up the slave empires. They are active in new countries, adding them to Communism. The Kremlin dictators and engineers of foreign intrigues have done their work too well—they cannot stop the process of aggression, even if they should try to reverse their policy. They are in the coils of overwhelming forces, such as slavery and atheism—victims of their own system, to be purged when their time comes.

Will secret agreements be made at the forthcoming meeting at the summit? It will be hard for the parties to convince the world that no secret bargains have been or will be made. Indeed, it is already asserted that "understandings" are in the making. The suspicions of free peoples will feed on irresponsible gos-



Marshals G. K. Khukov and Nikolai Bulganin, One or Both will Represent the Bulwark of Slavery

sip, even if the leaders abstain from making commitments.

Americans are likely to concentrate their thoughts upon the interchanges between Bulganin and Eisenhower, but it would be well for them to bear in mind the pressures which Britain and France will apply in behalf of appeasement. President Eisenhower has been quick to reassure his countrymen that he would not agree to anything in the nature of appeasement—but appeasement is a weasel word with many meanings. It is said that one of the reasons why the President agreed to the "summit conference" in the first place was to help the British Conservatives in their contest with the Labor Party in the campaign that ended on May 26. Of course Sir Anthony Eden would be preferred by Americans to Clement Attlee as the British representative at the "Big Four" meeting, but both of them favor appeasement of Soviet Russia and Red China, and neither one will hesitate to appeal to Mr. Eisenhower to make any concession necessary to save Hongkong. Such an appeal would have little support in the United States, in view of the attitude of Britain in trading with the enemy and its refusal to support the United States in saving Formosa and its islands from the Reds.

Many Americans also feel that Britain and France could have been more energetic in inducing UN Secretary General Hammarskjöld to bring about release of American war prisoners in Red China. It is noted that President Eisenhower agreed to the meeting "at the summit" in spite of the fact that Americans were still in prison torture nearly six months after Hammarskjöld's futile trip to Peiping.



The United States Must Avert the Pitfalls of Another "Yalta"

AVERY BRUNDAGE, president of the International Olympic Games Committee, has disclosed that the supremacy of the United States in international athletics is slipping. In a certain athletic contest not one American was qualified to enter. This, said Brundage, himself a former star athlete, is due to the coddling of American youth; his remark was not limited to physical coddling alone.

This disclosure is sad, but the knowledge that the coddling is being deliberately induced by introduction of Soviet physical culture methods is nothing short of shocking. American athletes, being boys and girls, young men and young women, at one time or another, usually fall under the influence of American schools. The public schools reflect the policies of the National Educational Association, a far-flung network of administrators and teachers whose attitudes, in final form, bear directly upon millions of American youngsters.

In 1954, NEA released its solidified policy on school

COMMISSARS LOOM IN SCHOOL ATHLETICS

By JO HINDMAN

athletics, a proposal of mass-production methods of non-athletic, non-competitive physical education including such activities as "creative play, folk dances, singing games, stunts to imitate story-book characters . . . roller skating and jumping."

Strikingly similar mass-production sports policy was followed by the Soviets prior to World War II, and in East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria and Red China since World War II; stellar performers were not encouraged to excel, their prowess was kept hidden by mass calisthenics geared for equal participation of all Red youth. Unofficially, this commissar-policy of "no champions, no prizes" has been in effect in some places in the United States as a certain physical education instructor in an American elementary school will tell. He was restrained by school authorities from awarding oak leaf badges as prizes in small fry foot races.

Aimed toward repression of the human competitive urge, the published NEA policy in a check-chart drawn up for all school districts asks among 100 questions: "Does your town permit night games? Do you depend on the income from games to finance your athletic program? Do you find that this is 'a prime cause for exaggerated emphasis on winning games?' Are teachers under pressure to excuse athletes or to lower academic standards? Does your town have Little League baseball competition? Is this good?"

Sports writers immediately wanted to know what was wrong about developing rugged fibre—mentally and physically—in American youth from the very beginning? Earliest possible participation in competitive sports is a priceless American heritage.

NEA policy-makers, curiously but possibly unintentionally following the Soviet pre-World War II sports policy, abhor competition and propose mass



Non-Competitive Sports in Red Russia Built Mass Minded Puppets for Communist Dictators

gymnastics, youth festivals, and group play days that would not allow a champion or individual star to rise above the masses. They opine that children should learn to play only for the fun of playing and warn that "pressures from the boys themselves—driven by altogether natural desires to grow up, to emulate older boys, and to achieve recognition—must also be curbed."

Writing authoritatively in the *Reader's Digest* (April, 1955), Joseph Wechsberg reports that this pre-war policy was tossed out by the Soviets because their athletes weren't winning enough Olympic championships. "Back in 1933," he wrote, "The Soviet Government began to centralize all sports in government-controlled associations. Sports were run by the commissars. But small progress was made until after World War II when mass-production methods in sports were abandoned in favor of specialized training of individual athletes . . . In an unbelievably short time, the Soviet Union has moved to the top in world sports."

Yet here in the United States, a policy likened some what to the obsolete Soviet policy that has been removed from athletes expected to win for the USSR, is now being promoted into American schoolhouses by the NEA policy! The NEA policy book continues, "At no time in elementary school and junior high school should special provision for the skilled take the



Reds Began with Six-Year-Olds in Austria

form of having them play together as 'the school team' against other schools . . . No junior high school should have a 'school team' that competes with school teams of other junior high schools in organized leagues or tournaments . . . Emphasis on developing a school team, keyed to achieve the best possible success in championship play, tends to violate the principle of 'athletics for all'."

"The practice of holding post-season tournaments or games among high school teams to determine champions or for any other purpose ordinarily does more harm than good when measured in terms of educational values. The practice is most prevalent in the case of basketball, but it also occurs in some places in football and other sports. Elimination tournaments are especially harmful because a great number of games are played in a short period of time."

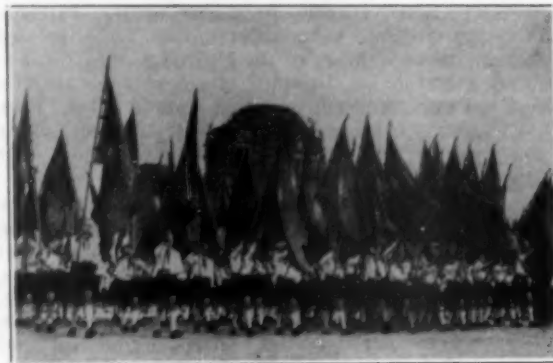
The NEA sports policy attempts to cloak its reasoning behind a dialectic trap, a stringing together of seemingly bland words that, when exposed by action, are an arrogantly conceived directive for school personnel to "exert leadership in the community to bring about better understanding of what constitutes desirable athletic experience for young people." Stripped of dialectics this means "to bring about what NEA considers desirable in American school sports."

The directive reads thus, when applied to American Legion junior baseball and sponsored Little League diamonds: "To make matters worse, agencies outside the jurisdiction of the schools are increasingly seeking to promote high-pressure athletic competition among children of elementary school age. Such competition, whether under school or out-of-school auspices, is so detrimental to the welfare of children that the situation urgently calls for self-imposed controls by enlightened parents, educators, and other citizens." This unsubstantiated "undue pressure" theme with its call for resistance is dinned throughout page after page of anti-competition policy: "The promotional efforts of some adult organizations and business firms to involve boys from eight to twelve years of age in highly organized competition constitutes a problem of serious proportions." The American Legion, Rotary Clubs and other civic movements, Police Boys Clubs, Catholic and other religiously controlled schools have promoted teams, leagues and tournaments in an effort to reduce juvenile delinquency and the effects have been wholesome.

The NEA policy-makers think it is terrible for a Little Leaguer who has swatted out to wipe a disappointed tear as he relinquishes the bat; they completely miss the point that he's learning to "take it." Jess Hill, football mentor of University of Southern California, says he wouldn't give a snap for even a grown-up griddle who wouldn't feel bad about losing, and happy over winning.

A human being who doesn't want to excel at something is often a misfit. Yet, NEA policy-makers have been long at work in many other areas of public education using one device after another (e.g. the gradeless report card used in many public schools), attempting to starve that anti-body of failure, the competitive urge, from the characters of American children placed in their care. And now, in their newest thrust, they are trying to take away the medals, the trophies, the thrill of *winning the game!* What effect will the killing of the competitive spirit in youth have on the future of our competitive system of industry and skill.

Stoppage of this constructive human urge overflows into destructive drives—school vandalism perpetrated by resentful hoodlums, swelling juvenile delinquency rolls that end in ranks of frustrated adults unable to cope with life's ups and downs. In the shadow of this,



East German Communists Take Competition Out of Sports and Youth Activities to Weld Them into Mass Machine Responsive to Dictatorship

competitive school athletics appears, not as a problem, but as one of the major solutions to a grave problem.

Show me a boy with a ball and a bat, a basketball or football and I'll show you a boy on his way to good citizenship. The truth of this time-tested saying has been proved time and again by America's most successful men who, in their younger days, participated in many types of competitive sports—General MacArthur, Admiral Richard Byrd, Teddy Roosevelt, and scores of others.

Speaking of NEA's controversial policy, the late Grantland Rice, beloved sportswriter and former champ said in one of the last letters he wrote: "The physical training for sports, football, baseball, basketball, and track helped me a lot, *but the competitive side helped even more.* There are two things that sports or athletics will help: First, the physical side where a certain amount of training and *discipline* are involved. Second, the *competitive side*—this is very important in the training of a young mind. It will help later in life in every way. I think it would be a big mistake to abolish competitive sports from American schools."

Adding a woman's viewpoint, former Speed Queen Helen Stephens, 1936 Olympic track champion and now librarian at a USAF chart and information center says: "Competitive sports teaches young people *how to take it* with the *well-balanced mental attitude* and *high moral characteristics* so vitally needed today to fit them for life in business, our Armed Forces, and the challenge of this Atomic Age. Competitive sports

(See ATHLETICS, Page 32)



Communists Mass Action Among Youthful German Girls Develops Regimented Ideologies

WHERE were the stars and stripes first displayed? Who designed our national standard? When was our national flag adopted?

The first two questions often arouse mixed feelings and strong words. But, the third question can be answered without awakening angry emotions.

The Continental Congress was slow in adopting our national standard. It was not until June 14, 1777, that it passed a resolution which provided "that the flag of the 13 United States be 13 stripes alternate red and white; that the union of 13 stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

This resolution was not passed until nearly a year after the Declaration of Independence. In fact for about 25 months the armed forces of the American Revolution fought under 15 different flags.

After the passage of the resolution adopting a national flag, nothing was published in the newspapers until July, 1777. And its passage was not officially

constellation of States in the West. The idea was from the constellation of Lyra, which in the hands of Orpheus signifies harmony. The blue of the field was taken from the edges of the Covenanters' banner in Scotland, significant also of the league and covenant of the United Colonies against oppression, and involving the virtues of vigilance, perseverance and justice. The stars were disposed in a circle, symbolizing the perpetuity of the Union; signifying eternity. The 13 stripes showed with the stars the number of the United Colonies, and denoted the subordination of the States to the Union, as well as equality among themselves."

Now where were the stars and stripes first displayed? This question inflames the emotions because of differences of opinion due to local pride, or selfishness. There are many schools of thought on this question. We will only discuss five of them.

One school of thought is of the opinion that the first stars and stripes were raised by John Paul Jones on July 4, 1777, aboard the *Ranger* as she lay at anchor in the harbor of Portsmouth, N. H. Since Jones was not appointed to her command until June 14, 1777; and since he did not put to sea in her until November, 1777, it is not likely that he was the first to display the stars and stripes. Nevertheless those of this school of thought are entitled to their opinion.

A second school of thought is of the persuasion that the first stars and stripes were raised by the men of Colonel

Seth Warner's regiment during the Battle of Hubbardton, Vt., on July 7, 1777. This claim has few supporters.

The third school of thought claims that the stars and stripes were first displayed at Fort Anne, Vt., on July 9, 1777. A few give credence to this claim.

A fourth school of thought believes that the stars and stripes were first displayed at the Battle of Bennington, Vt., on August 16, 1777. The number of supporters of this school is greater than the combined number of the three previous schools mentioned.

Finally, we come to the fifth school of thought. This school believes the stars and stripes were first displayed at Fort Schuyler (Ex-Fort Stanwix), Rome, N. Y.

Fort Stanwix, (built in 1753 by and named after an English general), was in need of repairs. As a result,

announced over the signature of the Secretary of Congress until September 3, 1777.

Since no records were made of the discussions of the Continental Congress on the adoption of the stars and stripes, we are uncertain to whom we are indebted for the design of our flag.

Some are of the opinion that Betsy Ross may have suggested the design. Others are of the persuasion that after a flag design had been suggested by some members of the Continental Congress, a committee of the Congress, sometime during the fortnight of May 23 and June 5, 1776, accompanied by General George Washington, called upon Mrs. John (Betsy) Ross at her home at 239 Arch Street, Philadelphia, (where she conducted an upholstering business), and ordered her to make a flag as outlined in a rough sketch which at her suggestion, it is said, was redrawn by General Washington as he and other members of the committee sat in the parlor of her house.

Colonel John Quincy Adams, a lineal descendant of Andrew Adams who was a cousin of Samuel Adams and John Adams, in June, 1908, in an interview with a *New York Times* reporter stated that he had the bills of payment to Betsy Ross for the making of the first official flag. He also stated that the committee which visited Betsy Ross consisted of General George Washington, Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, and George Ross of Pennsylvania.

There are some who refuse to believe the story about Betsy Ross and the first official flag. Even though they are entitled to their opinion, yet none of them have come forward with documentary evidence to disprove the narrative.

Alfred Billings Street, an author, poet and lawyer, born in 1811, in referring to our flag at the surrender of Burgoyne to Gates at Saratoga gives us this information about the design of our flag.

He wrote: "The stars of the new flag represent a

WHERE WERE THE STARS AND STRIPES FIRST DISPLAYED?

By GEORGE W. GRUPP



Birth of Our Nation's Flag—Flag Presented by Betsy Ross to George Washington, Robert Morris and George Ross

during the winter of 1776-1777 Major General Philip Schuyler was ordered to strengthen and repair Fort Stanwix. He in turn ordered Colonel Dayton and a detachment of Tyron County militia to carry out his orders.

Colonel Dayton, who accomplished very little in either strengthening or repairing the fort, renamed it Fort Schuyler in honor of Major General Philip Schuyler. This was not a wise thing to do because 14 miles further West, at Utica, N. Y., there was already a Fort Schuyler named in honor of Colonel Peter Schuyler. Two forts of the same name so close together was a source of confusion.

In the summer of 1777, Colonel Peter Gansevoort of the Third New York Regiment was appointed the commander of Fort Schuyler (Ex-Fort Stanwix) garrison.

Not long after Gansevoort's men were reinforced by Colonel Marinus Willett and his regiment as well as by 200 men from Colonel Weason's regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Mellon. This placed a total of 750 men under the command of Colonel Gansevoort.

WHEN a detachment of Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens under Lieutenant Bird, and a band of Indians under the leadership of Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), commenced their investment of Fort Schuyler (Ex-Stanwix) on August 2, 1777, the garrison was without a flag when the enemy appeared. But, the patriotic pride and ingenuity of the Continental soldiers and a few women in the Fort supplied the need by making a flag that was in conformity with the design recently adopted by the Continental Congress.

Before sunset that same day, August 2, 1777, or the next morning, August 3, 1777, a crude stars and stripes flew from the weather beaten old flagstaff atop of a bastion. The national emblem stirred a contagion of enthusiasm and the soldiers hastened to get a glimpse of it, and to salute it.

The white stars and stripes of this crude flag were cut from the shirts furnished by some soldiers. The red stripes were cut from women's petticoats. And the blue field for the stars was cut from a cloak belonging to Captain Abraham Swartwout, who captured the garment from the British at Peekskill, N. Y.

A few days later St. Leger's forces were repulsed and the Americans captured 21 wagon loads of blankets, camp equipment, clothing, stores, the baggage and papers of Sir John Johnson, and five British standards.

ON August 7, 1777, the Americans raised the five beautifully needled British standards beneath the crude stars and stripes on the Fort Schuyler (Ex-Stanwix) flagstaff in full view of the British and Indians. The whole garrison mounted the fort's parapets and then made the forest ring with three loud cheers for the stars and stripes.

Naturally, not everyone agrees with this Fort Schuyler (Ex-Fort Stanwix) school of thought.

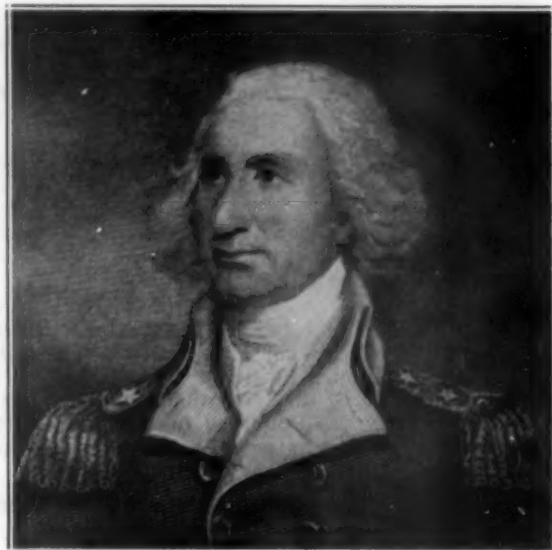
For example, on July 18, 1926, the Army historians released a statement that "The Stars and Stripes got its first baptism of fire in a land battle in the defense of Fort Stanwix on August 2, 1777."

This announcement created a lot of excitement in the camps of the other schools of thought.

Due to pressure, or whatever you wish to call it, the Army historians were forced to swallow their words.

About a year later, the Army historians reasserted that the improvised flag at Fort Stanwix was the first stars and stripes to be displayed.

This aroused another wave of protest from the other



Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler, for Whom Fort Schuyler, (Rome, N. Y.) was Named, at Which Many Argue Displayed First Stars and Stripes

schools of thought. They persuaded Senator Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware to write to the Secretary of War. And again the War Department backed down in its contention that the stars and stripes were first displayed at Fort Stanwix. But in doing so it was not a decisive decision. Instead, Acting Secretary of War B. H. Wells replied to Senator Bayard and said that its second retraction was merely its "present view and holding of the War Department."

Obviously this reply was a clever way of satisfying all parties, of smoothly withdrawing from the rumpus, and of admitting nothing conclusively. And there it stands today, as far as the War Department is concerned, even though there is documentary evidence to support the Fort Schuyler (Ex-Fort Stanwix) school of thought. And in addition to that this school of thought has the support of many able American historical authorities such as Elroy McKendree Avery, George Bancroft, the Division of Archives and History of the University of the State of New York, Thomas Egleston, John Fiske, Charles E. Fitch, Hugh Hastings, Henry Cabot Lodge, Benson J. Lossing, David Montgomery, Rear Admiral George H. Preble, William Max Reid, William L. Stone, Bayard Tuckerman, Marion E. Tracy, Justin Winsor, and many others.

How did these authorities come to accept the narrative that the first stars and stripes were first displayed at Fort Schuyler (Ex-Fort Stanwix)?

NEWS of the design adopted for our national flag, undoubtedly reached the Fort, which was located at Rome, N. Y., and about 115 miles West of Albany, N. Y., by word of mouth messages and newspapers and letters delivered by foot couriers and express riders.

It is recorded in John Albert Scott's "Fort Stanwix and the Battle of Oriskany" that "it was discovered among the recent arrivals in the garrison was one advised of the resolution of Congress of June 14 declaring" the design of the stars and stripes as our national flag.

Scott next makes this observation: "There is a tradition that a newspaper bearing this information was brought to 'Fort Stanwix by the detachment of

(See STARS AND STRIPES, Page 16)

THE ENEMY WITHIN OUR GATES

(REGISTERED TRADE MARK)

*Concerning the Activities of Movements Tending
To Undermine the Institutions of the Republic*

IN SPITE of all the publicity given all such instances as those of Bishop Oxnham who tried to prove his name was used by leftist and front organizations without his knowledge, the Communist Jefferson School of Social Science has discovered that the era of intellectual duplicity continues and thereby it has been able to line up some 86 educators, ministers, lawyers, writers and other professionals in a fight against the Subversive Activities Control Board, from listing the school to register as a Communist organization.

In this instance and in its own defense the "Marxist school" has prepared a fancy brochure containing letters purporting to bear the signatures of those who have been duped into coming to the defense of the Red outfit.

The Jefferson School issued a press release and the brochure containing the letters lists 28 persons who took a deep enough interest in their plight to write their views in communications to the Subversive Activities Control Board. They include Rev. Paul Johnson Allured, of Lansing, Mich.; Prof. Derk Bodde, of Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. John S. Codman, of Boston, Mass.; Prof. Abraham Cronbach, of Cincinnati, Ohio; Prof. Ephraim Cross, New York City; Prof. Emeritus Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York City; Attorney Royal W. France, New York City; Prof. Forrest Keen, Tiffin, Ohio; Rev. J. Spencer Kennard, Jr., of Columbia, S. C.; Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Chicago; Albert Maltz, Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell, Racho Sante Fe, Calif.; Prof. Philip Morrison, Ithaca, N. Y.; Prof. Robert A. Rosenbaum, Middletown, Conn.; Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, Williamston, Mass.; Miss Florence Van Swearingen, New York City; and Rev. Harry F. Ward, Palisades, N. Y.

Is Everybody Cracked but These Intellectuals?

Rev. Allured asks the commission, "where is there any difference between the Jefferson School and the Princeton Seminary?" in his letter as reproduced by the Red Jefferson School. He also calls the United States Congress and the Department of Justice, "un-Christlike and un-American" in attitudes and procedures in their dealing "with what they so rashly call 'Communist conspiracy' and 'Communist front' organizations."

A letter in the brochure purported to have been written by Rev. Frederic E. Ball of the Epworth Methodist Church in Ottawa, Ill., says he feels the proposed registration requirement "becomes a threat even to all prophetic preaching."

Another brochure letter is supposed to have been written by Rev. J. Spencer Kennard, Jr., of Columbia, S. C., who calls the action of the Government a "persecution of the Jefferson School," stating that "the conspiracy that threatens America today is not Com-



United Press Photo

Irving Potash, Member Politburo of Communist Party, Convicted for Advocating Overthrow of the United States Government, Departs for Native Poland in Agreement with Court

munism in alliance with Russia, but Jesuitry in alliance with predatory interests."

In addition to the letters, the Red Jefferson School brochure contains a "general statement" to which those and other signers subscribe and in which they express the belief that to "suppress the teaching of Marxism" at the Jefferson School "is to threaten freedom of teaching in the realm of social, political and economic theory."

Names which appear on the general statement as defenders of the Red school against action by the Government's Subversive Activities Control Committee are listed as follows:

Prof. Edith Abbott, Grand Island, Nebr.; George T. Altman, Beverly Hills, Calif.; Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Brooklyn, historian; Dr. Jacob Auslander, New York City, physician; Hella Bernays, New York City, editor; Hans Blumenfeld, Philadelphia, city planner; Prof. Theodore Brameld, New York City, education; Prof. G. Murray Branch, Atlanta, Ga., religion; James L. Brewer, Rochester, N. Y., attorney; Prof. Dorothy



United Press Photo

John B. Williams, Labor Secretary of the Communist Party, Convicted and Sentenced for Advocating Overthrow of United States Government, and Family Depart for Native England Under Court Agreement to Leave the United States

Brewster, New York City, English literature; Prof. Paul F. Brissenden, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., economics; Prof. Joseph Brown, Princeton, N. J., architecture; Prof. Anton J. Carlson, Chicago, physiology; Rev. Mark A. Chamberlin, Gresham, Ore., clergyman.

Ida H. Cohen, New York City; Prof. Robert S. Cohen, Middletown, Conn., physics; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Brooklyn, editor and author; Dr. Lewis A. Eldridge, Jr., Rensselaerville, N. Y., physician; Ben Field, novelist; Clemens J. France, Providence, R. I., attorney; Elizabeth P. Frazier, Philadelphia, secretary, Episcopal League for Social Action; Bernard Matthew Ginsburg and David J. Grunes, New York City; Samuel P. Greenberg and Ellwood Griest, of Brooklyn; Dr. Ralph H. Gundlach, New York City, psychologist.

Robert Gwathmey, New York City, artist; H. David Hammond, Audubon, N. J., botanist; Louis Harap, New York City, editor; Daniel Howard, superintendent of schools emeritus, Windsor, Conn.; Lowell J. Hoxsey, Hermosa Beach, Calif.; Dr. Alfonso Iannelli, Park Ridge, Ill., artist; Herbert Kruckman, Brooklyn, artist; Dr. Corliss Lamont, New York, author; Edith C. Lawrence, Cleveland, librarian; Prof. Oliver S. Loud, Yellow Springs, Ohio, natural science; Prof. Alexander Meiklejohn, Berkeley, Calif., educator; Dr. Jacon Melnick, Portland, Me., physician; Betty Millard, New York City, editor; Dr. Phillip Oliver, Providence, R. I., humanist lecturer; Harry A. Olson, Minneapolis; Ben Oxman, New York City; Emmy Lou Packard, San Francisco, artist; Clara Rieber, New York City, retired teacher; Dr. Rossell Hope Robbins, Saugerties, N. Y., English literature.

Dr. Holland Roberts, San Francisco, educator; Anna Rochester, New York, liberal, economist; Abraham Schenck, Brooklyn; Montgomery Schuyler, Brooklyn, retired civil engineer; Peter Seegar, New York City, musician; Frank Serri, Brooklyn, attorney; Dr. Samuel Sillen, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y., editor; Dr. Morris Swadesh, Denver, anthropologist; Isabel F. Starbuck, Cambridge, Mass.; Prof. Paul Weiss, New Haven, Conn., philosophy; J. Daniel Weitzman, Washington, D. C., businessman; Rev. Hugh Weston, Lynn, Mass., clergyman; Prof. John Wild, Cambridge, Mass., philosophy.

Two of Four 'Former Red' Turncoats Convicted of Perjury

Two of the four turncoat witnesses in Government hearings and cases against Communists and others under investigation alleged to have had Communist affiliations have been convicted of perjury.

The first of the foursome, Harvey Matusow, was convicted in Texas, for perjury in the trial of a union organizer, he having later contradicted his testimony against the Red laborite in the hopes that it would reverse the conviction. Matusow is yet to face further prosecution in New York as a result of his reversal of testimony in the case of 11 top Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act. He was the first of four former Communists to reverse themselves after giving sworn testimony against Communists and those charged with affiliations.

The second turncoat in the list of four, was Mrs. Marie Natvig, witness for the Government in the hearing before the Federal Communications Commission in the case of Edward Lamb, born in Toledo, Ohio, a newspaper and radio-TV owner. The hearing has been on the renewal of the license of his Erie, Pa., TV Station. Mrs. Natvig was among those testifying she had known personally of Lamb's affiliations while she, a former school teacher, was a member of the Communist Party



United Press Photo
Pro-Soviet Red China Influenced Afro-Asian "Peace" Conference in Djakarta, Indonesia, in April. India's Premier Nehru Advocating Appeasement to Reds in Formosa and Other Far Eastern Conflicts

in Toledo. Lamb is accused of having been active in the International Labor Defense, a section of the Red International, of sojourning to Russia and on his return, contributing articles to Communist organs, etc. Like Matusow's sensational reversal, she reversed her stand, claiming she had been influenced to lie for the Government through persuasion of Government agents.

Ex-Reds Out on Bail

A Federal Court in Washington, D. C., has found Mrs. Natvig lied when she changed her position claiming she had lied for the Government, and found her guilty of perjury on three counts. Sentence had not been passed when this column went to press, but she faces a maximum penalty of \$6,000 fine and 15 years in jail. It took the jury only 20 minutes to return its verdict and Judge Alexander Holtzoff told the jury he thoroughly agreed with its verdict. She is out on \$2,500 bond pending sentencing or new trial. Matusow is out on \$15,000 bond while awaiting a decision on an appeal.

While the indictment stemmed from her testimony as an FCC witness against Lamb, the trial did not involve any of the basic issues of that case. It dealt with whether she had made certain pre-hearing statements to FBI and FCC representatives and then later, under oath, wilfully denied making them.

The eight-months-old FCC hearing itself concerned
(See THE ENEMY WITHIN OUR GATES, Page 23)

APPEARING SOON

A life-long Democrat writes—

ADLAI STEVENSON—THE ADA AND 1956

A scholarly article by one who loves her country—

CONSTITUTIONALISM—AMERICA'S GREATEST GIFT TO THE WORLD

A well-known newsman writes seriously and jokingly—

THE FIRST PUBLIC READING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

and the influence of barnyard flies (factual)

Other features equally as interesting and informative—

NATIONAL REPUBLIC EDITORIALS

FOR—Fundamental Americanism; Constitutional Representative Government; Constructive National Policies.

AGAINST—All Subversive Movements Inimical to American Ideals, Traditions and Institutions.

PATRIOTS ON GUARD

THE TRUE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN patriotism was refreshed by the convention of the Society of Daughters of the American Revolution and other patriotic organizations held in Washington, D. C., recently. The National Capital always could profit by a reminder of its responsibilities, and never more than at present, when it is infested with international meddlers and native "intellectuals" whose intellects have gone stale, if they ever existed.

It may be true that some of the resolutions adopted by the DAR were a little too "sweeping," but even at that they could not be misinterpreted as double-talk. They echoed what is in the hearts of the American people at home. Deeply disappointed by the breakdown of the United Nations as a means of promoting good will and peace, and disgusted by the cowardice and duplicity of members of the UN in failing to win release of American prisoners now in torture in Red China, the Daughters spoke out—and officialdom in Washington felt its face turn red. Sooner or later there will be a violent outburst of Americanism which will force the release of these prisoners or wreak vengeance on their heathenish Red torturers. The nature and history of Americanism warrants this statement. Today's shame is a shadow that will pass—and some officials will be lucky if they escape the public wrath.

The DAR acts as a sentinel for the people by keeping an eye on the UN. The conspiracy to form a world government is very active, well financed, and fortified by foreign combinations of both Communist and anti-Communist forces. It has fanatical supporters among Americans. Much of the propaganda which has helped to cripple the American educational system is aimed at the ultimate abolition of American independence and the substitution of a world sovereign. So long as the Daughters of the American Revolution are on guard the country can be sure that no treason can destroy the Union. That is something for which every citizen has reason for giving thanks to God—for the average citizen is unable to stand on guard and is fortunate, indeed, if he escapes the effect of propaganda poison.



KEEP COOL

THE HEADLONG SPEED OF THE United States into the uncertain future is illustrated in many ways, notably by the increase in population and business. By June 1 the population is to be 165 millions. The output of automobiles has passed the yearly mark and may reach the 1950 high-water mark of 8 million cars and trucks. The domestic demands for goods and services are insatiable. All business seems to be prosperous. New homes call for new houses, which are springing up like mushrooms in all suburban areas. New streets and highways are therefore necessary as traffic expands, so that the estimated cost of modernized speedways runs into billions of dollars.

"Speedways"—this is the keynote of modern life. Is the country speeding too fast and too recklessly? Or is it merely puffing and hustling, trying to keep up with what is essentially normal expansion? Is the United States capable of phenomenal growth, far be-

yond present-day imagining, and in need only of an era of peace in which to bloom? Confidence in government and the present and future is widespread.

The number of skeptics seems to be shrinking. As the markets stand firm and expanding, prophets of doom find their occupation gone. The appetite for speculation has caused the Federal Reserve Board to hoist cash payments on margins twice in a few months. Memories of the runaway market of 1929 are recalled, but not heeded. The craters of debt in foreign countries have been partly filled, so that a collapse in Austria now would hardly bring about an American breakdown. Yes, times are good, business is booming, and fears of world war are diminishing. Americans are joyful over the announced prospects of a balanced government budget and a general over-all tax reduction in the coming year.

It is a good time now for Americans to keep cool—to take calm appraisal of their country's place in the world, and to discount every little piece of sensationalism which hungry reporters squeeze out from the utterances of statesmen. These statesmen know very little more than the world already knows, and their remarks may be intended for "enemy" consumption, anyhow.

While business is good it may not be wise to take in sail too much, but these are uncertain times, at best, and nothing is to be gained by over-enthusiasm or over-excitement on the part of the average citizen.



SAVE ROCK CREEK PARK!

WHILE CONGRESS APPROVES OF plans for completing the Capitol by extending its Eastern front to conform to the demands of safety and symmetry, it neglects the equally important duty of preserving the integrity of Rock Creek Park. This park is the common heritage of the American people as a part of their nobly conceived and hallowed capital, handed down to them with God's approval by Washington to stand forever as the symbol of liberty. No other region on earth commands equal affection from the people.

But the people individually are helpless as they witness the ravages of vandalism in the destruction of the park that adorns their capital. "Speedways" and "freeways," not less than six of them, are now gashing and gridironing the spaces which were intended to remain in natural beauty for the refreshment of the public. Authorities outside of the District of Columbia, bent upon expansion of motor roads, seem to be acting in defiance of the District and even of Congress. If not checked, this work of desecration will destroy the park for pedestrians. They would be risking their lives in trying to cross highways crowded with rushing motor cars. The cost of restoring the park to its original beauty and usefulness to the public would run into millions of dollars.

A California legislator who appreciates the duty of Congress to save Rock Creek Park, Representative Leroy Johnson, has offered a joint resolution similar to one languishing in the Senate. "This resolution," says Mr. Johnson, "proposes to preserve Rock Creek Park to its dedicated purposes. I hope the appropriate committee of the House will give the subject early con-

sideration to the end that we may act with expedition and in coordination with the Senate on the subject."

Mr. Johnson deserves the thanks of the people of Washington—nay, of all the American people—for acting in time to preserve Rock Creek Park. The busy committees in charge of this resolution can well afford to turn aside from daily routine long enough to make sure that the park shall not be ruined.



A SILLY QUESTION

IT SEEMS TO THE NATIONAL REPUBLIC that President

Eisenhower is entitled to a season of relief from the ordeal of answering constant and silly questions regarding his plans, if any, for running again for the Presidency. To remain smiling and patient under such bombardment must be a great strain upon the patience of a busy man who is trying to save time for dealing with important matters of state.

Nothing is gained by this questioning. Nobody can know whether or not Mr. Eisenhower will run again. He himself cannot know. Another session of Congress will intervene before the summer of 1956, and summer will wane before the San Francisco convention is held. In the meantime the world may be turned upside down, with all the plans of mice and men ripped apart. It is always well to "think ahead," but it is foolish to commit one's self too far into the future.

A lot of planning and brainwashing will be indulged in before the next session of Congress. That session will be more important than the present one, so far as the White House campaign is concerned. Sad as is the thought, men die in the midst of high enterprises, which must be revised accordingly. Rivals of President Eisenhower are mentioned among Democrats at this time. Suppose one or more of these should die, and thus change the temper of the party to enable its North and South wings to flap together? Such a condition might determine Democratic policy, as well as the policy of the Republican Party at San Francisco.

Surely the correspondents who attend Presidential press conferences can prepare better questions than the silly one, "Do you intend to run in 1956?" They have no right to impose upon the patience of the busy President.



HALF WAY THROUGH

AS THE END OF THE FISCAL year approaches, it is evident that the Treasury will remain heavily in debt and with the budget unbalanced, in spite of a reduction of about 17 per cent in appropriations. This is a disappointment to taxpayers. They are pushed back to the fiscal year 1957 at the earliest. Secretary Humphrey hopes it will be possible at that time to balance the budget.

Everybody knows that Congress is extravagant. It has thrust upon Secretary Benson, of the Agriculture Department, more than he asked for. It has raised the pay of the armed services, including retired officers who are incapable of giving further service and who have already been paid for their services and expenses. It passed a too generous Federal pay bill. Worse than all, it gives to foreign countries more than they need, under conditions that invite corruption. It seems to be impossible to control the extravagance of American officials abroad.

Congress has provided for a lot of new buildings and new public agencies, some of them necessary, some not important. The country's welfare has been pretty well considered. In spite of grumbling, employment

is greater than ever before, at higher wages. Somehow the threats of ruin through strikes do not materialize, although there are ugly clouds around the horizon.

It is a little too soon to obtain the exact figures on national receipts, expenditures and commitments for the first half of the fiscal year 1956. But the situation will be well in hand.



JUST AROUND THE CORNER

AS MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED, millions of people in free countries jump at the thought that the meeting of the "Big Four" means that world peace is in the making. They take it for granted that if the "Big Four" can meet, all danger of war will disappear. Having trembled under the shadow of atomic destruction, these people now instantly react to the suggestion that the Soviet Union has "adopted a new strategy," either through necessity or statecraft, and is now anxious to cooperate with the free nations in making universal peace.

It is astonishing that men of long experience with Communist cunning are such easy victims of the new Red maneuver. They are eager to open the doors to the Reds—and somehow Congress and the Administration must apply a checkrein to these dupes before they aid the enemy.

Abroad there is a similar situation. British and French workers are said to be thoroughly convinced that Communist workers in Russia and satellite countries are now devoted to peace and friendly cooperation with free countries. Poor, stripped, half-starved Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and other semi-slaves of the Soviets are hoping to interview members of the "Big Four" delegations, to urge them to make peace with the Reds. Wherever the "summit meeting" is held, it now seems probable that the place will swarm with delegations from satellite countries praying for peace at any price. This spectacle is no doubt a part of the enemy cold war propaganda.

The chiefs of state will not go into details on any question. If they should enter into a discussion of any point at issue they would inevitably clash. They must speak in generalities. If they can agree upon referring an issue to their ministers it will be all they could be expected to accomplish. But some of these so-called minor issues carry in themselves the seeds of war. The Soviet Union furnishes airplanes to Red China which are now attacking American airmen over neutral waters. How can that issue be settled, even by diplomats, without a quarrel? At last accounts American war prisoners were still in chains in China, after six months of dilly-dallying by the UN and the United States itself. If these men are still in prison when the "Big Four" meet, how will that issue be handled? How will the "Big Four" behave toward Chiang Kai-shek? Will he be double-crossed again, with American consent, and Formosa and its islands be handed over in an appeasement bargain?

Other controversies exist, such as the pressure for entry of Red China into the UN; illicit British trade with the Soviets and China; the row over Quemoy; Soviet mistreatment of churchmen in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland; Red subversion here and in the Caribbean and Latin America; to say nothing of the irrepressible eventual collision of two mortal-enemy ideologies. These matters stand in the way of world peace and yet naive millions think peace is just around the corner!

Something is just around the corner, it's true; but if America is wise, that something will be a stockpile of atomic bombs, and Uncle Sam will keep his powder dry.

THE advantage of a gun makes a little man superior to a Goliath in battle. And in a Republic such as ours, the lethal weapon of innuendo gives any Tom Thumb intellect who happens to be endowed with the combination of a malignant heart and an audacious mind a big advantage over the giants of statesmanship. At least two top-stature American political leaders—Henry Clay, and James G. Blaine—were robbed of the Presidential laurels by these snipers. They smeared Alexander Hamilton, one of the most constructive statesmen this country has produced, and hounded him to his grave. They harassed and libeled some of our Presidents, including Washington, the two Adamses, Lincoln, Grant, and Hoover.

William Branch Giles of Virginia has long been forgotten except by students of history and a few of

PIONEERS OF SMEAR

By FRED DeARMOND

his modern imitators such as Charles Michelson, Drew Pearson, Congressman Wayne Hays of Ohio, Senators Wayne Morse and Neuberger of Oregon. But to Giles belongs the dubious distinction of having been the pioneer smear artist in a long line of that breed. And what shining targets of reputation he had to practice on!

Giles was elected to the House of Representatives in the first Congress. The spirit of party was as yet unknown to the new Nation, but it didn't take him long to supply the want. James Madison entered the Congress from Virginia with a strong prejudice already forming in his mind against Hamilton, who then occupied the post of Secretary of the Treasury. Madison and Giles were soon joined in this schism, in an undercover way, by Jefferson, Hamilton's associate in the Washington cabinet.

In 1793, Giles offered in the House a series of resolutions carrying the imputation that Secretary Hamilton had been guilty of dishonest accounting and playing free and easy with the Federal funds. The resolutions didn't put the matter quite in that bald way; they were intended to cast doubt on Hamilton's honor, but without making a direct charge that could be pinned down.

The Anti-Federalist press started baying, particularly the *National Gazette*, edited by Philip Frenau and secretly backed by Jefferson and Madison. Giles' resolutions were passed because they seemed to constitute merely a factual inquiry. Hamilton was not permitted to face his accusers in person. But he supplied on short order a vigorous defense and a complete statement of the Treasury funds, including every outlay of money, which fully satisfied the House committee.

Giles merely moved a new set of resolutions, this time shifting his ground from that of hinted malfeasance to the violation of law and neglect of duty. After debate had brought out the baselessness of these charges, he tried to withdraw some of them and to keep the others from coming to a vote before the adjournment of Congress. In this way he had hoped to leave the question open in the public mind and to black-

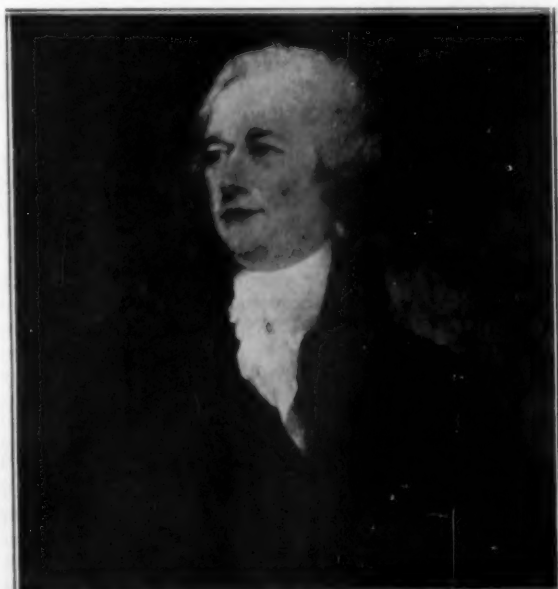
en Hamilton's reputation by insinuation. But the House voted him down overwhelmingly and fully vindicated Hamilton. Nevertheless, when a bucketful of tar is thrown, a little of it is bound to stick. This is evident in one of the more recent biographies of Hamilton, by Robert Irving Warshaw, which repeats by innuendo some of the old and long-discredited libels of those days.

Later, Giles found a disgruntled Treasury employee named Fraunces who was willing to charge Hamilton with graft, and tried to use him in setting another investigation on foot. This, too, fell flat. Fraunces was a sort of Harvey Matusow of his time. But in all these maneuvers, Giles, with no honorable name at stake himself, had everything to gain and nothing to lose by making irresponsible charges.

Giles had the further effrontery to heave some of his tar-balls at Washington, whom he characterized as "neither wise nor patriotic." He held the first President in low repute and thought "the country could go on very well without him." President John Quincy Adams, a favorite mark of demagogues because he always refused to stoop to the lower arts of politics, was another of those honored by the Virginian's abuse. John Marshall, he said, was a "hypocrite."

Because the courts had rendered decisions unpalatable to the Democrats, Giles demanded "the absolute repeal of the whole (Federal) judiciary system." His medicine was the drastic original of the court-packing nostrum of a century later. A study of his efforts to supplant all Federalist officeholders, including judges, by Democrats after Jefferson had been elected, shows that Giles and not Andrew Jackson was the true father of the spoils system.

This squat, barrel-bodied, long-haired ruffian—flying the black flag and the enemy of all men—stayed in the House and Senate for a whole generation, and was Governor of the great State of Virginia. By the testimony of even those who regarded themselves as his friends, Giles was an uncouth, ignorant bully, a "pugilist in politics." Benton of Missouri said that the Virginian never read anything. But he possessed enough



Alexander Hamilton Object of the First Smear Campaign in History of American Politics

political cunning to keep himself in office through most of his adult life, and often induced Congress to go along with him. His name reposes in the national archives as a perpetual reflection on the processes of democracy. His monument in history stands in this savage but just appraisal by John T. Morse, the biographer of John Quincy Adams: "Giles' abuse had been poured in torrents upon every reputable man from Washington downward, who had been prominent in public affairs since the adoption of the Constitution."

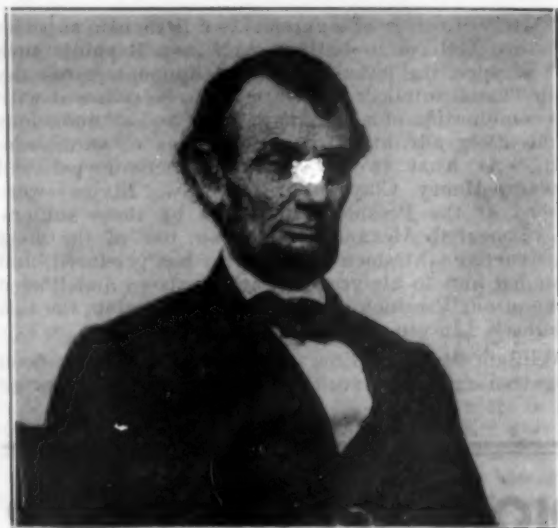
SINCE Virginia has produced so many statesmen of high stature, including her present senior United States Senator, it is strictly by coincidence that the only man to be mentioned in the same breath with Giles among the early American masters of smear also was a son of the Old Dominion. John Randolph of Roanoke came of the most aristocratic of the first families—one that produced several names of note and high honor.

His character was in sharp contrast to Giles, with whom he was associated on the same side of most controversies, until they finally fell out over a personal matter that almost ended in a duel. Randolph made the mistake of trusting Giles with confidential information, and according to Henry Adams, no man ever trusted Giles without living to regret it. Randolph was a man of intellectual culture. He could condemn an enemy in the Latin equivalents of Giles' coarse name-calling. Literary allusion and rapier-like sarcasm were part of his forensic armory.

Randolph, too, represented Virginia in the House and Senate for some 30 years. During that time hardly a public man of any note except a few nullificationists and extreme slavery men escaped the venom of his tongue. He called President John Quincy Adams a traitor, Daniel Webster "a vile slanderer," and Edward Livingston, Jackson's Secretary of State, "the most contemptible and degraded of beings, whom no man ought to touch, unless with a pair of tongs." While Jay's treaty with England was under discussion, Randolph was said to have offered a toast to "George Washington: May he be damned—if he signs Jay's treaty."

RANDOLPH adopted a moral tone of pretending to dislike slavery, but was always in the forefront of those who repelled any reflection on the slave power. It was but natural that his hatred should be directed at two such conspicuous friends of freedom as Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams. When Clay was speaker of the House he squelched Randolph's resolution against the War of 1812. Again, during the Missouri Compromise debate in the House, when Randolph had fought against any restrictions whatever on slavery, Clay verbally slapped down the noisy Virginian.

The chance for revenge came in 1825. Clay, J. Q. Adams, and Andrew Jackson had been the three principal contestants for the Presidency in an election so close that it had to be decided by the House of Representatives. There followed a deadlock that was ended with Clay's final withdrawal in favor of Adams. Then, on Adams' assumption of office in 1825, he named Clay to be his Secretary of State. Immediately Jackson's followers raised the cry of a corrupt "deal." The charge never was supported by any evidence; the life records of both men refuted it. But it was made to order for Randolph, who voiced the big smear in the most famous slander ever uttered in the Capitol. In his peroration he alluded to Adams and Clay as "the coalition of Bliål and Black George—the combination unheard of till then, of the Puritan and the



Abraham Lincoln, Among Most Humble Public Servants in American Government Suffered the Tar Brush

blackleg." His reference was to two unsavory characters in Fielding's "Tom Jones." Continuing his philippic, Randolph called Clay's progenitors to account in these scathing words: "This being, so brilliant yet so corrupt, which like a rotten mackerel by moonlight, shined and stunk."

Clay promptly challenged Randolph to a duel and tried his best to kill him, but his bullet only grazed the slanderer and left him free to continue his work for eight years longer. Enough tar had stuck to Clay, however, to make it probably the deciding influence in defeating the Kentuckian's two successive attempts to win the Presidency. In the year when the Whig nomination was a ticket to victory he lost the nomination, and in the year when he did capture the nomination he lost the election—an exact parallel with the later experience of James G. Blaine, also the victim of a notorious political smear. But he remained by common consent a greater man than most of the statesmen of that "middle period."

RANDOLPH distinguished himself as possessing probably the most arrogant and overbearing manner of any man ever to sit in the Congress. He had a habit of walking into the House booted and spurred, carrying a whip, and accompanied by his dog. He was a hard drinker, and often called aloud to a servant for "more porter!" while he was speaking. He became a deliberate terrorist in politics.

Although he died many years before the Civil War, it is proper to call him the first secessionist. Chiding the Northern members in one of his tirades, he said, "We do not govern them (the North) by our black slaves, but by their own white slaves. We have conquered you once and can and will conquer you again. Ay sir, we will drive you to the wall, and when we have you there once more we mean to keep you there, and will nail you down like base money."

Throughout history, Presidents have been subjected to a certain amount of smear. Washington, Lincoln and Hoover were special targets. Others have been less vilified. What Giles seems to have begun in a systematic way in 1793, has now become an art. Though more subtle, it is more effective than in former days.

ABOUT 12 years ago, the NATIONAL REPUBLIC discussed the interesting fact that "losers never come back" in a bid to occupy the White House. Candidates for the Presidency who lose in their first run never succeed in winning, no matter how many more times they try.

That article was prompted by the fact that Wendell Willkie, defeated in 1940, was launching a strenuous campaign aiming at a "second try" for the Presidency. Early in 1944, the first test of Willkie's strength was made in Wisconsin. In the Republican preferential primary election Mr. Willkie was overwhelmingly rejected by the voters. Stunned and bewildered, but gracious in defeat, Mr. Willkie gave up his hope of becoming a two-time candidate.

Curiously enough, the Republican nomination in 1944 went to Thomas E. Dewey, who, after losing that

ONE STRIKE AND YOU ARE OUT

By DR. DAN W. GILBERT

year, obtained the nomination again in 1948, but failed in his attempt to disprove the unbroken rule of American history: Candidates who lose in their first try for the Presidency will continue to lose, no matter how many times they try.

It seems illuminating to take a new look at this matter, in view of the assumption of some political experts that Adlai E. Stevenson, beaten in 1952, is all set to try again in 1956.

Why have American voters refused to tolerate even a single exception to the rule that, once they turn thumbs down on a candidate, they will not later elevate him to the White House? (Grover Cleveland won the first time he ran, lost for re-election, and then won in a "comeback." This was the case of a "winner" coming back. No "loser" has ever come back.)

Generally, the American people put a high value on determination, grit, "stick-to-itiveness," and the "never say die" spirit. One of our most time-honored copy book phrases for school children recommends "if at first you don't succeed, try, try again." But that does not apply to Presidential candidates. Why?

In the first place, voters like to believe that "the office seeks the man," rather than "the man seeking the office." They do not look favorably upon a candidate who presents the open appearance of being consumed with personal ambition to live in the White House. The "perennial" Presidential candidate already has two strikes against him.

Presidential elections come only once in four years. There is a strong feeling that a defeated candidate should step aside, and "give some one else a chance." Our people cannot be sold on the theory of the "indispensable man." When a defeated candidate insists that he must continue to carry the party standard, many people regard this as self-exaltation amounting to the setting up of this one individual as the only one capable of leading his party.

Whether it is justified or not, a considerable number



Wendell Willkie Could not Break Precedent by Winning After Defeat

of voters seem to see an element of bad sportsmanship in the effort of a defeated candidate to "keep control of the party machinery" so as to dictate his own re-nomination at the next convention. There is also the feeling that "once the people have spoken," the verdict should be accepted. When a candidate, originally repudiated at the polls, tries a "comeback," there is often a popular resentment against his trying to reverse a decision which the people have already made. Persistence in a Presidential candidate is not appreciated, since it seems to involve an attempt to upset the judgment which the people first expressed on the Presidential fitness of the nominee.

Historically, attempts of defeated candidates to stage comebacks have prevented the fair consideration by the voters of new issues. The candidate trying a comeback stirs up old hatreds, wrangles, and antagonisms that should have been buried four years ago.



Ex-Governor Thomas E. Dewey Went Down to Defeat in Effort to Break Precedent

The campaign often degenerates into a stale rehash of issues already decided.

William Jennings Bryan ran for the Presidency three times on the Democratic ticket. He almost won the first time on the issue of "free silver." The next two times, it wasn't even close. Mr. Bryan himself had become the issue. Pressing national problems were overshadowed by the one transcendent question: Could Mr. Bryan, the silver-tongued orator, talk the people into changing their minds about whether they wanted him in the White House? He couldn't. And if he couldn't, it is hardly likely that anybody else could—ever.

In 1948 all signs pointed to a sweeping Republican victory, but when the ballots were counted, it was found that the people had voted down the candidate who had lost in 1944. Political analysts are still trying to figure out why Mr. Dewey lost. There is a deep difference of opinion. Many key figures in his party blame his conduct of the campaign, contending that he pulled his punches. Others argue that the people turned against him because they felt he was "too anxious to win." Mr. Dewey's sad experience only underlines the questions: Can any candidate, once defeated, put on what the people will accept as a hard-hitting, fresh, and vigorous campaign? Won't any candidate, on the comeback trail, give the impression of being "too anxious to win?" Like a beaten boxer, isn't he bound to appear "punch drunk," "arm weary," and overly "professional," rather than fresh and sincere, in his whole campaign approach?

History shows that it is a waste of time for a defeated candidate to try a comeback. It also shows that such "hogging" of the spotlight is almost disastrous to the party, leaving inner party wounds that are very long in healing. Loyal Democrats never forgave William Jennings Bryan for thrice leading their party to defeat. When Mr. Bryan, a feeble and dying man, appeared at the convention in 1924, he was not hailed as a beloved and elder statesman, but was openly hissed and shunned by party big-wigs who maliciously suggested that the Presidential bug still stirred restlessly in his hardening arteries.

At the Republican convention in 1952, large groups of the delegates showed a bitter hostility toward Mr. Dewey, which should give pause to anyone who is considering an attempt to reverse the rule that Americans don't like losers who try to come back in a Presidential election. We do not take sides for or against the former Governor of New York. We only point out what happened at the Chicago convention. Every one there respected Mr. Dewey as a fine and able Governor. To the bewilderment of television witnesses and radio listeners, the boos against Mr. Dewey were set off when Senator Dirksen referred to him as the man who "twice led us down the road to defeat."

The lesson of history is that any party will follow a candidate once, eagerly and enthusiastically. If there is defeat at the end of the road, they will not blame him, but will comfort and console him for the courage and consecration of his leadership.

But woe unto the candidate who TWICE leads his party to defeat. It is a fearful and terrifying thing: For him, for his party, and for his country.

To this rule of American history, there has never been an exception. Attempts of defeated Presidential candidates to come back are never successful. Their failure is not only the acme of futility, but a thoroughly bad thing: bad for the Nation, bad for the party, and bad for the individual.

Our Constitution now provides that no President shall serve more than two terms. The rules of both



If Ex-Governor Adlai Stevenson Makes a Second Race, Will Precedent Defeat Him?

parties might well be amended to provide that a losing candidate shall not be eligible for renomination. This would be a fair reinforcement of the American tradition against acceptance, in any form, of the theory of the "indispensable man." The Democrats learned with Mr. Bryan, and the Republicans learned with Mr. Dewey, that the worst thing that can happen to a party is to be saddled with a two- or three-time loser.

In baseball it takes three strikes to put you out. But in politics: *One strike and you're out.* And, in this game, when you're out, you are *really* out.

STARS AND STRIPES

(Continued from Page 8)

the 9th Massachusetts which arrived Saturday night as a guard to the batteaux. It would seem quite likely, however, that the news was contained in a letter forwarded with others to Fort Dayton and then confided to Lieutenant Colonel Mellon for delivery. However this may have been Lieutenant (William) "Colbrath," who was stationed at Fort Stanwix at the time, "made this entry in his journal under the date of August 3: 'Early this morning a Continental flag was made by the officers of Colonel Gansevoort's regiment, was hoisted and a cannon leveled at the enemy's camp was fired on the occasion'."

Under the date of August 3, 1777, Dr. James Thatcher, (who was then stationed at Albany, N. Y.), wrote in his "Military Journal" that, "It appears by the papers that Congress resolved on the 14th June last, that the flag of the 13 United States be 13 stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be 13 stars white on a blue field."

This entry in Dr. Thatcher's "Military Journal" while he was in Albany supports the assumption that Fort Schuyler (Ex-Fort Stanwix) received the news concerning the adoption of the stars and stripes about the same time it was received at Albany.

On August 11, 1777, at German Flats, N. Y., Colonel Marinus Willett wrote a report on the operations of the Continentals against the British at Fort Schuyler

(See STARS AND STRIPES, Page 32)

THE CAPITOL PRAYER ROOM

By PEARL MARTUFI

THE words of Rep. Brooks Hays, (D.-Ark.), in reporting progress on the prayer room project to his colleagues were: "The Congress of the United States had never done anything like this before."

He was speaking of House Concurrent Resolution No. 60, quoted below, which the Senate unanimously approved May 4, 1954, and which was approved by the House three months later.

"Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring) that the Architect of the Capitol is hereby authorized and directed to make available a room with facilities for prayer and meditation for the use of Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. The Architect shall maintain the prayer room for individual use rather than assemblies and he shall provide appropriate symbols of religious unity and freedom of worship."—House Concurrent Resolution No. 60.

This resolution grew out of a simple longing put in the form of a question by Senator "Mike" Monroney of Oklahoma to Representative Brooks Hays in January, 1952. "Don't you think it would be a good thing for us," Senator Monroney asked, "to have a place at the Capitol where we might meditate and pray, where the mood of prayer could be encouraged?"

Mr. Hays agreed. The thought remained with him all night, and on the following day he introduced a short, simple resolution. But the proposed legislation died on the calendar and had to be reintroduced at the beginning of the 83rd Congress, receiving final approval in August, 1954.

At first there was some opposition, one member in particular stating: "We are taught in personal petitions to seek a secret place."

Mr. Hays assured the hesitant member that "the prayer room is a secret place. Privacy will be afforded. It is not a prominent or public room."

The outstanding feature of the small room is a stained-glass window, the gift from California's 21st District. In the center is the youthful figure of George Washington, kneeling in prayer, surrounded by a shower of 13 Stars and names of the 13 original States.

The top portion of the window bears the reverse side of the Great Seal of the United States, over which are the words, "Annuit Coeptis" (He hath favored our undertakings.) Beneath this medallion is the inscription, "This Nation under God."

The bottom portion of the window represents the obverse side of the Great Seal and bears the familiar motto, "E Pluribus Unum."

On the laurel wreath border are the names of the additional States of the Union, with space left for one more State. Others can be added by cutting across the laurel border and inserting a nameplate.

In the two corners of the window a book and a candle represent the Holy Scriptures and the 105th verse of the 119th Psalm, "The Word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path."

The room is done in tones of blue, a dark blue rug, several simple arm chairs upholstered in a lighter blue leather, and the walls a pastel blue.

The white oak altar, at the base of the window, supports a large open Bible.

Shielded wall lights illuminate the room, and two 7-pronged candelabra are placed before the altar, a prie-dieu directly in front of each candelabra.

The American Flag, symbol of our freedom and worship, stands in a corner at the right of the altar.

In order to insure that there would be in the room no symbol which might be offensive to any religious group the following persons gave their advice and criticism during the planning of the room:

Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the Senate; Rev. Bernard Braskamp, Chaplain of the House; Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, Minister of the Washington Hebrew Organization; Father Edward J. Herrmann, Assistant Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Washington.

Benjamin Franklin, a devotee to prayer, once stood in the midst of a difficult debate in the Constitutional Convention and suggested that the delegates pray.

"I have lived, sir, a long time," Mr. Franklin once stated, "and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men . . . And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid?"

The faith of Benjamin Franklin is reflected in American leaders of today. Abraham J. Multer, a Democrat Representative from New York, says the prayer room is "one of the finest things that this Congress has done."

With this Representative Richard H. Poff, Republican of Virginia, agrees wholeheartedly, and predicts that the sanctuary will be a welcome retreat to which



Harris & Ewing
View of the New Prayer Room in the Capitol Building
of the United States of America

the Representatives, in the discharge of their sometimes awesome and bewildering responsibilities, may repair for meditation and prayer.

"Even the motto on the coins of the United States," said Representative Eugene McCarthy, Democrat of Minnesota, "is a public affirmation of religious truth."

The attitude of the men and women we elected and sent to Congress is reflected in their expressed hope that the prayer room will serve as an instrument for the advancement of "undertaking, of tolerance, and of truth."

It is heartening to contrast the establishment of this prayer room in our Nation's Capitol with the Soviet government's increasing efforts to wipe out all semblance of religion and to establish atheism.

The room, unmarked and unnumbered, is about 50 feet West of the rotunda. Tourists from all over our Nation who daily pass through the Capitol would be gladdened to know that their elected Representatives may at that very hour be kneeling in supplication for Divine guidance in the weighty problems of these times.

But the little room and the silent occupant within are not on exhibition; for House Concurrent Resolution No. 60 provides the retreat for moments of personal prayer in a *secret* place. That provision will be observed.

PRAYER IN FIRST CONGRESS

On the morning of September 7, 1774, after being notified of his appointment the night before by Peyton Randolph, the president of the First Continental Congress, Rev. Jacob Duche of Philadelphia, with his clerk and dressed in his pontificals reported at Carpenters' Hall, where with a prayer he opened the third meeting of the First Continental Congress.

The Collect for the day was the 35th Psalm. With reverent eloquence Rev. Duche read:

"Plead my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me: fight against them that fight against me. Take hold of shield and buckler, and stand up for mine help. Draw out also the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me: say unto my soul, I am thy salvation. Let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul: let them be turned back and brought to confusion that devise my hurt. Let them be as chaff before the wind: and let the angel of the Lord chase them. Let their way be dark and slippery: and let the angel of the Lord persecute them. For without cause they hid for me their net in a pit, which without cause they have digged for my soul.

"Let destruction come upon him at unawares; and let his net that he hath hid catch himself: into the very destruction let him fall. And my soul shall be joyful in the Lord: it shall rejoice in his salvation. All my bones shall say, Lord, who is like unto thee, which deliverest the poor from him that is too strong for him, yea, the poor and the needy from him that spoileth him?

"False witnesses did rise up; they laid to my charge things that I knew not. They rewarded me evil for good to the spolling of my soul. But as for me, when they were sick, my clothing was sackcloth: I humbled my soul with fasting; and my prayer returned into mine own bosom. I behaved myself as though he had been my friend or brother: I bowed down heavily, as one that mourneth for his mother. But in my adversity they rejoiced, and gathered themselves togeth-

er: yea, the abjects gathered themselves together against me, and I knew it not; they did tear me, and ceased not: With hypocritical mockers in feasts, they gnashed upon me with their teeth.

Lord, how long wilt thou look on? Rescue my soul from their destructions, my darling from the lions. I will give thee thanks in the great congregation: I will praise thee among much people. Let not them that are mine enemies wrongfully rejoice over me; neither let them wink with the eye that hate me without a cause. For they speak not peace: but they devise deceitful matters against them that are quiet in the land.

"Yea, they opened their mouth wide against me, and said, Aha, Aha, our eyes have seen it. This thou hast seen, O Lord; keep not silence: O Lord, not far from me. Stir up thyself, and awake to my judgment, even unto my cause, my God and my Lord.

"Judge me, O Lord my God, according to thy righteousness; and let them not rejoice over me. Let them not say in their hearts, Ah, so would we have it; let them not say, We have swallowed him up. Let them be ashamed and brought to confusion together that rejoice at mine hurt; let them be clothed with shame and dishonor that magnify themselves against me. Let them shout for joy, and be glad, that favor my righteous cause; yea, let them say continually, Let the Lord be magnified, which hath pleasure in the prosperity of his servant. And my tongue shall speak of thy righteousness and of thy praise all the day long."

After this reading of the Collect Rev. Duche, unexpectedly to all, offered an extemporaneous prayer of supplications for God-given courage and strength for the delegates in their guidance of the Colonies to freedom. His words stirred deeply the emotion of patriotism. They touched the soul of every delegate present and lifted them to the seventh heaven for there was not one eye which was not moist with tears.

PRAYER BY OUR FIRST PRESIDENT

Almighty God, we make our earnest prayer that Thou wilt keep the United States in Thy Holy protection—and finally that Thou wilt most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility and pacific temper of mind which were characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion.

—GEORGE WASHINGTON



The First Prayer in Congress, September, 1774, Carpenters Hall, Philadelphia

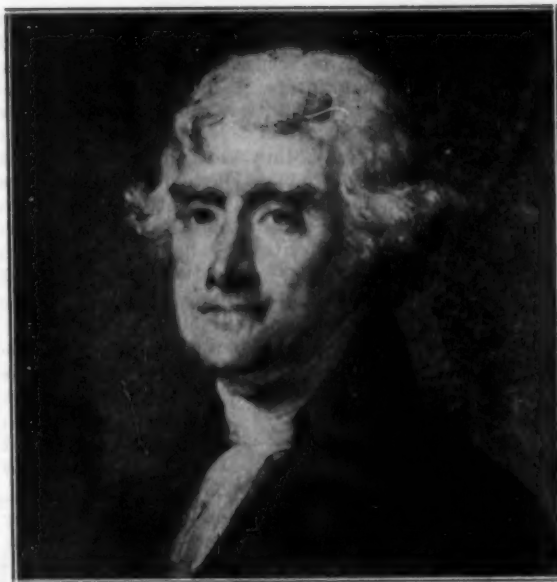
THERE'S war in Milwaukee and it's not over the Braves' pennant chances or the recall of Senator McCarthy. It's a clash between the *Milwaukee Journal* and the city aldermen. The point at issue is "the people's right to know," an old journalistic battle-cry against secrecy in government.

The aldermen have been holding secret caucuses to discuss, but not to vote on, various issues. The press has objected to this practice, contending that actual decisions sometimes are made in the caucuses. The vote at the regular council meeting then would become a mere formality.

The situation in Milwaukee is not unique. We constantly read of feuds between the press and Federal, State, and Municipal Governments over "the people's right to know." The quarrel dates back to Colonial times.

In England secrecy for a long time kept the electorate ignorant of the voting and debates of members of Parliament. Many of these legislators had no sense of responsibility to their constituents. One member of Parliament in 1738, a Mr. Pulteney, was so naive as to say, "to print or publish the speeches of gentlemen in this House looks very much like making them accountable without doors for what they say within."

The press eventually overcame such opposition and reporters were admitted to Parliament, but merely as



Thomas Jefferson Espoused Freedom of Information Concerning Government Affairs

SECRECY IN GOVERNMENT

By ROBERT H. WEBBER

a matter of custom and grace, not as a matter of right.

In America the historical development of relations between press and government followed the example of Parliament. The House did not admit reporters until 1790. The Senate opened its doors to the press in 1792 after its practice of secrecy was bitterly attacked by Philip Freneau, editor of the *National Gazette* of Washington.

Despite these attempts to stifle it, freedom of information had some strong advocates among the fathers of our country. Patrick Henry said, "... to cover with the veil of secrecy the common routine of business, is an abomination in the eyes of every intelligent man and every friend of his country."

James Madison said, "Knowledge will forever govern ignorance. And a people who mean to be their own governors, must arm themselves with the power knowledge gives. A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy, or perhaps both."

In recent years newspapers have been especially vigilant in "keeping an eye" on government, using as their justification "the people's right to know." Basil L. Walters of the Knight newspapers told the Board of Directors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in October, 1948:

"It seems to me our responsibility lies in the domestic as well as the international field. I have noted a tendency of some officials in some of the smallest government units, as well as the largest, to forget that they are the servants of the people and to act instead as though the taxpayers were their servants. Our duty

as newspapermen, I believe, is to act always as the eyes of the American public and to keep an eternal spotlight of publicity on all servants of the people."

So the press has come to identify itself with the voting public. The men in government, on the other hand, often ignore the existence of such a relationship.

Such is the condition which now exists in Milwaukee. The city's Common Council has been holding secret *non-partisan* caucus meetings to thrash out differences of opinion on matters on the business agenda of the regular meeting. The *Milwaukee Journal* has vigorously opposed this practice. The paper maintains that the aldermen are the duly elected representatives of the people and that the people have a "right to know" what transpires in the secret caucus.

With the City Charter of Milwaukee expressly stating that "their sessions shall be open and public," it seems there is little justification for secret meetings. The aldermen counter with the claim that these are not regular sessions, but merely caucuses of the whole. They maintain that secrecy aids discussion and speeds up the procedure. They point out that the formal vote is always taken at the regular meetings. Yet, they admit that sometimes the decision actually is agreed upon in the secret caucus.

Analyzing the problem, we find that much of the difficulty arises from a lack of understanding of the roles of liberty and authority in society. Both the government and the press claim to serve society, one fulfilling society's need for authority and the other the need for liberty.

How does authority affect society? Since the fall of Adam, men no longer operate in complete harmony. Sometimes they disagree. Therefore, men bind together in groups and submit to the command of a central authority to insure harmony of action. It is obvious that governments are the "means" of authority in this common endeavor called society.

Working under this belief, the American people elect representatives to serve them. This voting is part of the role of liberty in society. Elections permit the people to choose their rulers. But the elected representatives are rulers and take part in authority. They make laws and enforce them. If the people do not approve of their actions, they can refuse to re-elect them. But while in office, the elected representatives do have the responsibility and power of authority. Therefore, if the common good is better served by meeting in secret, the representatives have the right to meet secretly. However, these secret meetings must be held to a minimum if the people are to have the knowledge required to vote intelligently.

Senator Hubert M. Humphrey outlined this situation in a recent letter to Senator Theodore Francis Green, Chairman of the Senate Rules Committee. Humphrey wrote of secrecy in government and said, "Unfortunately the actions of Congress in this regard have a tendency to set a poor example for all levels of governing bodies in this country."

While recognizing the "occasional necessity" for closed-door sessions to protect national security information, Humphrey said the "practice has been carried far beyond what is really necessary for security purposes."

The Minnesota Democrat said, "I do not like the implications of 'closed-door' proceedings in a democracy, and believe it prevents the American press from fulfilling its responsibility of keeping the public properly informed."

The Senator has expressed what we all know. Our mass communications media, including newspapers, periodicals, radio and television, combine to inform the public as to what is taking place in the world.

Thus the press' role in society is to serve as a "means" to the common good, just as government is a "means." Sometimes the attempt of the two to serve society seems to overlap. For instance, the government can rightfully meet in secret when the common good demands it. But the press has no right to keep the public in ignorance.

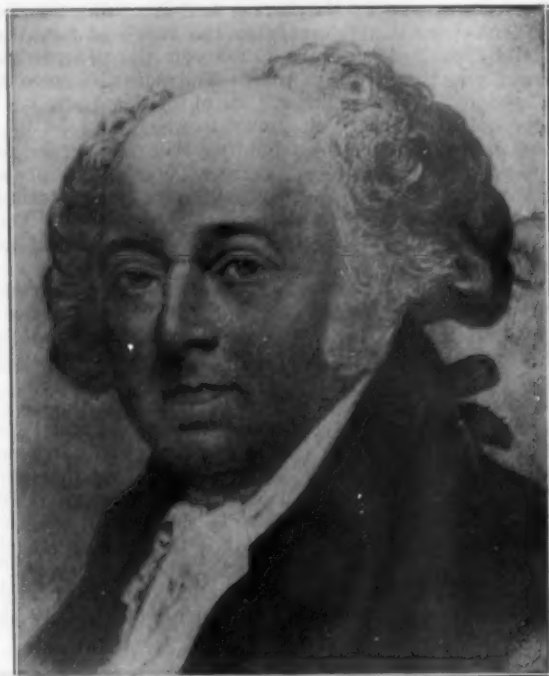
THE distinguishing principle in this case is what best serves the common good. That must determine whether any governmental meeting is open or secret. The discretion by those concerned should determine the matter. Certainly such decisions cannot be laid down by law. Our laws very wisely provide for open meetings, but do not insist upon them, except in a few cases.

An excellent study of the laws governing freedom of information is contained in Harold L. Cross' *The People's Right To Know*, published in 1953 by the Columbia University Press. Mr. Cross, one of the country's leading newspaper lawyers, tells us that on the national level reporters have no expressly stated legal right to attend a session of Congress. They do enjoy such a "privilege," which is now regarded as a right.

On the State level, only two States, New Mexico and Idaho, insist that all sessions of the legislature be open. However, most States seem to favor open sessions. On the municipal level, Harold L. Cross found after extensive research that:

"The law on the subject is almost wholly statutory, and most of it is found in city charter provisions. The general rule is, and a strong majority of city charters provide, that meetings of city councils and similar governing bodies of equivalent designation shall be open at all times to the public. The provisions apply . . . to formal meetings whether regular or special . . .

"There is no (legal) way to prevent secret or non-



James Madison said, "Knowledge Will Forever Govern Ignorance"

public informal meetings and . . . the matter of holding them and the topics with which they deal are determined by the wishes of the officials themselves."

Cross' findings are substantiated by an opinion given by Milwaukee City Attorney Walter J. Mattison upon the request of the Milwaukee Common Council. In investigating the legal right to hold secret caucuses, Mr. Mattison came to these conclusions:

- 1) The caucus has no basis in law, but conversely no law specifically forbids it.
- 2) The caucus is "purely a voluntary meeting." It is intended to clarify issues, not to formulate specific decisions.
- 3) The Council must judge when the public interest would be best served by a closed session.
- 4) The aldermen have the right to exclude the press and public from the caucus.

Milton J. McGuire, President of the Milwaukee Common Council, has said, "Ninety-nine times out of a hundred there is no reason why a reporter shouldn't be here, but there are a number of occasions when the council should meet privately."

Scarcely any one will deny that in unusual circumstances the good of the people may be served better if the legislative body meets in secret. The law, custom and reason all grant this right. But the law, custom and reason also dictate that the people "have a right to know" what their representatives are doing.

In cases like the one in Milwaukee, every meeting should not be secret. "The people's right to know" is the basis of a Republic such as ours. When the people lose this right, they cease to have popular government.

Americans should cherish their "right to know." They should insist upon it and make certain that the men in government do not abuse its right to hold secret meetings. It might be well for us to remember Thomas Jefferson's sage evaluation of the press. Jefferson said, "This formidable censor of the public functionaries, by arraigning them at the tribunal of public opinion, produces reform peaceably, which must otherwise be done by revolution."

EVEN in the days, when hydrogen bombs and cobalt dust were undreamed of, the people in this country faced the dire possibility that California and vast areas to the East might become a Russian province. The death of a brilliant chamberlain of the Imperial Court prevented this catastrophe.

Interwoven with political intrigue and plans for Russian expansion, the love story of Baron Nikolai Rezanov and Dona Concepcion Arguello reveals one of the most dangerous and fascinating romances of early American history.

On the morning of April 6, 1806, the bark *Juno* skimmed into San Francisco Bay. At that moment, her illustrious owner, Baron Rezanov, High Chamberlain to his Imperial Majesty, Alexander I, was in no mood for romance. He was filled with the same desire for conquest that is evident in his countrymen today. His cunning brain was teeming with visions of a new Russian Empire, which would extend at least to the

enhanced his own position with dazzling tales of the glittering splendor of the Imperial Court in his own country and in the continental capitals of Europe. She pictured herself, as the wife of this great Baron, receiving the homage of kings and princes. She too was ambitious and determined to marry this "Grand Seigneur from the North" before he sailed away. Despite her worldly ambitions it was inevitable that she should eventually lose her heart to the courtly Russian, who was faced with formidable obstacles.

A strict law of the country prohibited trade with foreign ships. Although the hold of the *Juno* was laden with silks, satins and laces, which the girls and women craved, permission to exchange them for food-stuffs was denied, and for six weeks Rezanov exercised his diplomatic powers of persuasion. In the meanwhile, he permitted himself to fall in love with the bright-eyed *Senorita*. In letters he writes of his psychological approach to love.

"I impreceptibly created in her an impatience to hear something serious on the subject." At the right moment, he pressed his suit and was accepted, only to find himself facing barriers of parental and religious objections.

"It is unthinkable, Conchita, Mia, that you should consider a marriage with this heretic," Don Jose protested. But both Concepcion and Rezanov were stubborn in their persistence and bowed unwillingly to a subtle plan which was to separate them forever.

The Padres and the Dons agreed that the Russian cargo was to be purchased and food was to be sold in return on the sole condition that Rezanov would leave at once to personally seek the sanction of the Pope, the Czar and the King of Spain. The plotters were fully aware that such a journey would require at least two years and that during that time an ardent caballero would woo and win "*La Favorita*."

The bells of the mission Dolores were tolling their evensong as Nikolai whispered farewell to his Conchita. With tears and prayers, she watched the sails, tinged with the crimson and gold of the sunset, fade away . . . into darkness. She was never to see him again.

The story of the beautiful *Senorita's* devotion has been immortalized in poetry and prose. In the poignant poem, which bears her name, Bret Harte mourns her desolation. The intrigue-filled heart of Rezanov lives again in the prose of Gertrude Atherton. Death closed the dark eyes of the faithful Concepcion nearly half

(See DREAM, Page 32)

THE DREAM THAT DIED

By KATHRYN E. BROWN

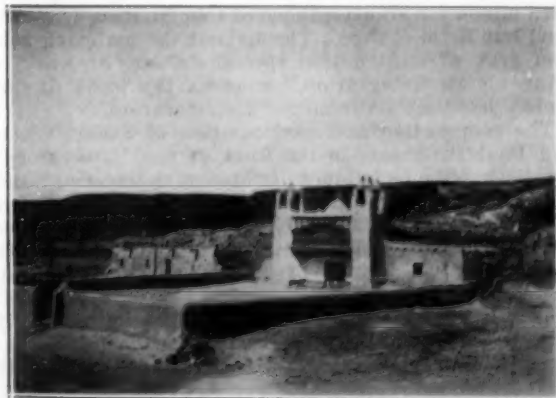
Rocky Mountains and possibly beyond. In his dreams he saw vast fertile valleys peopled with his own emigrants with himself as plenipotentiary and overlord. He was well received, but mistrusted by the apprehensive Spanish Dons. His immediate mission, which was to "procure supplies" for the Russian colony in Sitka, would have failed but for the love he inspired in the heart of a beautiful *Senorita*.

Dona Concepcion Arguello, daughter of Don Jose, Commandante of the Presidio of San Francisco would have been a pin-up girl today. At 15, she had the voluptuous maturity of her race and was far lovelier than the Castilian roses which brightened the drab walls of the fortress. Her immense black eyes, fringed by lashes of an incredible length, and her magnolia skin were like those of her aristocratic mother. From her plebeian father, who had risen by his own ability to become the richest and most powerful man in California, she inherited an intelligent and vivacious mind though she still believed that babies were found under fallen rose petals as direct gifts from the Blessed Virgin. But her heritage of wealth, loveliness and position were not to shield her from her tragic love for a Russian nobleman, which was to endure until her death.

The astute Baron Rezanov has been acclaimed by historians as the most handsome man who ever stepped into the Presidio. Though 40 years old or more, the distinguished blond diplomat, resplendent in his superb uniform of the Imperial Court, was indeed an imposing figure. With cold blue eyes and haughty face, he looked down upon the olive-skinned caballeros.

The calculating Baron was intrigued by the lovely Concepcion and in his self-centered heart he believed that a marriage with the daughter of the Commandante of San Francisco would be of vital importance in the attainment of his aggressive ends, but with neither Concepcion or Nikolai was their romance to be a simple one of love at first sight.

Concepcion, or Concha, as she was affectionately called, had made her own decision. Her wily wooer had



An Old Mission that Still Stands in Western United States

IN 1951, the Senate Investigating Committee on Education of the California Legislature under Senator Dilworth pointed out the use of *human relations workshops* to put over the doctrine of "intercultural education"—the Socialist technique for creating "indifferentism" to our unique heritage in the United States which stems from Anglo-Saxon parliamentary practices and the ideals of Western civilization, based on Christianity.

The report specifically named the "workshops" (a term developed in the French Revolution where "made work" was provided the shiftless, etc.) and "outside opportunities" suggested by the educational apparatus for California teachers. They were conducted at Chico State College, Calif.; the University of Chicago, Mount Holyoke; National Camp, Sussex, N. J.; Rutgers University, N.J., and Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. The most important cadre was centered at Bethel, Me., where the National Training Laboratory had been set

weeks' course costs \$325 which includes the core session training-of-trainers program. No pikers need apply. Of course, if you can qualify, the Ford Foundation will provide \$25 a day for your training. After all, the charge itself makes the whole thing rather smartly expensive, doesn't it? Rather sophisticated in educational circles!

One of the most extraordinary documents ever printed in this country is included in the National Laboratory promotion material being sent out in 1955. It is a tortured explanation of actual brainwashing undergone by one trainee last summer who describes how she was brought around to "self-criticism"—the very technique used by the Soviet and Chinese Communists.

In "Sojourn in Bethel—1954" by Edna Carter (reprinted from the Baltimore Bulletin of Education)—the whole sordid, embarrassing and shocking procedure is revealed. Miss Carter appears to be a highly emo-

BRAINWASHING, INTELLECTUAL STYLE

By MARION M. STRACK

up and where "group dynamics" was featured—one of the mainstays of "indifferentism."

The National Training Laboratory now assumes tremendous importance in the light of the promotion material sent out for the 1955 season. This information is distributed from the Division of Adult Education Service, National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

The usual pompous jargon has been invented to describe the specialties of the group dynamics boys—Leaflet No. 1 speaks of "interpersonal perceptions" of teachers, students and parents. The purpose of this particular leaflet is stated significantly as "dealing with barriers to communication" and "analyzing factors involved in changing behavior."

A pink sheet tells that the "Laboratory" has been in existence since 1947. This date is also that of the peak of Communist penetration in this country. It is obvious from a study of the "Laboratory" material that its entire emphasis and viewpoint promote the Marxist Socialist purpose of making the individual subordinate to the group; if it were designed to prepare minds for an acceptance of Communism, it would need but little change. Throughout the material, "action groups" and "action specialists" are at work to bring about "integration," whereas the basis of our society has been its immense diversification.

The cooperation and participation of Stuart Chase and Paul H. Sheats in the work of the "Laboratory" insure that the techniques of "human engineering" and "social planning" will predominate in this training course; as do such far-fetched and mechanical terms as "unstructured atmosphere" and "clinic sessions." In fact a four-page letter from Chase to Leland P. Bradford, the Director of the Training Laboratory states: "It takes some courage to risk criticism by purposely challenging certain United States culture patterns; courage is one of the things I admire about your staff" (dated February 5, 1951).

It takes money to become "integrated." The three

tional person so unsure of herself that she appears to have been completely dominated by the group dynamic boys and made to glory in her subjection. It is an unsavory story.

Greatly impressed by her experience, Miss Carter tells how large Bethel looms as an "intellectual island"; how she completed a long and inclusive questionnaire before acceptance and after being admitted had to do an "exercise in sentence completion which was used to sift members." She was grateful that informally dressed members of the staff met her and helped her register; then escorted her to her comfortable room in Gehring Hall (Gould Academy). Thus, she says without further explanation, "we were introduced to the myth that no status exists at Bethel." She continued, "These trainers encouraged us to use our first names, helped us carry our bags and were hail fellow well met"—a repulsively genial note.

Miss Carter wandered into the comfortable lounge and introduced herself to other lonely looking delegates. "They seemed harmless" she remarks. Then they went into the dining hall, served themselves at buffet tables and began to get acquainted. But this jolly relaxation was not to be. They had to improve their skills in group living. Curiously, Miss Carter says increased tensions began to develop and brought reactions on an emotional level which would probably not have been released in a less intellectually secluded atmosphere.

After lunch—the anecdote does not pay too much attention to sequence of time and place—the guinea pigs found themselves in Bingham Gym where they were told delegates from 26 States, the District of Columbia, three territories and seven foreign lands were in attendance. They held positions in education, welfare, industry, mental health and the Armed Forces, and all felt the need to increase their competence "in human relations and group development."

The Director of the Human Relations Center at
(See BRAINWASHING, Page 32)

THE ENEMY WITHIN OUR GATES

(Continued from Page 10)

repeated denials by Lamb that he once knowingly associated with Communists. The hearings ended shortly following the Natvig trial.

When Mrs. Natvig first testified for the FCC in October she said she had been a Communist in the 1930s and linked Lamb with Red activities. Returning to the stand in February for further cross-examination, she repudiated her prior testimony.

In the course of her trial, Mrs. Natvig evidently in confusion, testified in defense that she was penniless and accepted a \$100 coat and agreed to payment of the rent on quarters in Washington's most fashionable apartment house, the Woodner, through Lamb's counsel.

An FBI agent said that Mrs. Natvig walked into his office in Miami last year and identified herself as a former Communist and said she had attended Red meetings with Lamb in the 30's. She indicated she had become very patriotic and feared Lamb would get a television station license. The FBI agent transmitted the information to Washington.

As for Lamb's application hearing, when on the witness stand at an FCC hearing he readily admitted, in fact said he was "very proud" of his part in organizing the National Lawyers Guild, which is currently fighting a proposal that it be listed as a subversive organization.

Publisher, TV-Radio Owner, Denies All

One witness, Abner Green, linked Lamb with the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, claiming he was a national vice chairman in 1941 and 1945. This organization is also on the Government's list of subversives. Lamb also denied a Government allegation that he once represented the secretary of the Ohio Communist Party who sought through court means to get the Communist Party on the Ohio ballot.

Government witnesses, testifying against Mrs. Natvig at the trial included: Robert D. J. Leathy, FCC accountant and investigator; Edward J. Powers, former FBI Miami District Bureau head, now in charge of Boston; Charles B. Scildecker, FBI special agent in Miami; Walter L. Powell, Jr., and Walter Kittner, FCC attorneys.

Lowell Watson, the third "ex-Communist" Government informer to reverse his position, has been a Department of Justice consultant for 18 months. He also claims a change of heart and reversed his testimony in the Lamb case as it neared its end. All claim that a bothered conscience had forced them to reverse themselves and that they had been prodded into lying against Reds by Government counsel.

Fourth "Informer" Aids Red Cause

When recanting his testimony against Lamb, Watson, it is said, admitted he had in the meantime accepted pay from Lamb's forces for special work.

The fourth informer has added his name to the drama of the turnabouts in connection with subversive activities investigations.

He is David Brown who now turns up as a defense witness helping the Civil Rights Congress in its fight to prevent a listing as a subversive organization.

Brown, Russian-born, says he was a paid informer for the FBI, during 1950 and 1955, during which time he lied to the FBI.

This case bears out contention of Government leaders that these turncoat cases are a part of a Communist plot wherein Reds infiltrated ranks of paid Gov-



United Press Photo

Mrs. Mildred Blauvelt, New York Police Detective and Undercover Agent Tells House Committee on Un-American Activities of Red Infiltration of Longshoremen, Transit and Domestic Help Circles in New York City, Naming Scores of Red Borers

ernment informers to later "wreck" Government cases. Brown said he was affiliated with the Red party up to 1948.

He now says he began working for the FBI in 1950, started by getting \$5 each for reports and later being paid at the rate of \$250 per month.

More recently he was executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress in Los Angeles and he now testifies he says he reported to the FBI about Civil Rights Congress meetings he never attended.

Early this year he concocted a kidnap story and disappeared.

Attacks on Security Regulations Continue

Scientists continue to lambast the Nation's security program, the latest attack emanates from a meeting of the American Society of Biological Chemists which supported a boycott of the University of Washington because of its barring of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, atomic scientist, from the campus lecture program, after he was denied clearance by the Atomic Energy

REPRINTS

Reprints of articles from **National Republic** can be made available if sufficient requests are received for any one feature, within ten days of publication.

Prices are as follows: \$25 per 1,000; \$18 for 500. If sufficient orders are received 100 may be had for \$4.00.

Reprints of some articles have run over 100,000; commonly they run 10,000 to 25,000.

Remit with order to **National Republic**, 511 11th Street, N. W., Washington 4, D. C.

Commission. The boycott was later withdrawn because the society felt it had achieved its purpose—that of “reaffirmation of academic freedom,” and the breaking up of a scheduled gathering of scientists at the university.

Dr. Austin M. Brues, of the Argonne Laboratories, told the society he felt it time “the security system be evaluated by an impartial board, hoping that the sand has not run out so that an impartial, or at least national, group cannot be found.

The Ford Foundation is subsidizing distribution of copies of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, which adds to the attacks on the security program. The article by Edward Shils, a member of the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago, talks about our American postwar “hyperpatriotism” as he calls it and he estimates 1,000 qualified scientists have encountered security difficulties.

If True, Scientists Ranks Deeply Infiltrated

The propaganda article says, “The United States Government is blocking the boundaries of the scientific community, refusing research grants, denying visas, suspending scientists and denying fellowships on criteria which, although far less brutal, are almost as unrealistic and as irrelevant to truth, national security or welfare as the Nazi and Fascist criteria.”

One scientist to run into passport trouble more recently is Dr. Martin D. Kamen, former A-Bomb scientist. His application was blocked in the State Department passport division and Kamen has gone into court to force the department to show why the paper should not be issued.

Leftwingers in and out of Congress, are making of the security regulations a field day in politics. They would have the American public believe that those who have been charged with questionable affiliations and close Red acquaintances, are persecuted by the present Administration, by being removed from security positions.

It is well known that the early secrets of the atom bomb leaked through from our experimental laboratories into the hands of the Reds, and that without the knowledge Russia would have not today been in a position to challenge the world security. The general public has demanded that security risks be ousted from the Government. It was the big issue in the last Presidential campaign and the new Administration was not only pledged to clean house of such risks but to see to it that such risks be kept from the public payroll in the future, to have done otherwise, it would have met with public indignation.

Former New Dealer Attacks Security Program

The minority is making political thunder of the fact that the Administration has and is continuing to clean house, but in our estimation they will gain the support only of those who would be their natural followers.

Leftists met their equal in oratory at the recent annual meeting of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League at the Waldorf Hotel in New York City.

Louis B. Nichols, assistant to J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, told the audience that security measures are inseparable from defense of freedom. Mr. Nichols said, “one of the tragedies of our era is the fact that it has become necessary to have a security program.”

Taking a direct slap at the antics of some of the leftists, Mr. Nichols said that “an even greater tragedy is found in tactics employed by those who do not wish to face the facts.”

In striking contrast to the Red menace as viewed by the FBI records, the same audience heard Robert Sherwood, former New Deal officeholder, who has ac-



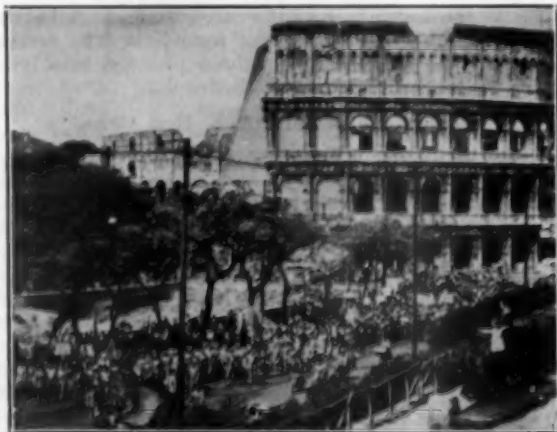
John J. Daly, Affectionately Known as Jack in Capital Newspaper Circles, Famous as Author of “Toast To Our Flag,” and Many Books, Receives Honor Medal from President Wells of Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge for His Patriotic Contribution, a Book entitled “Our Government”

cumulated no small record for himself in the field of leftist activities, declare that, “If our constitutional system is to be superseded by an acceptance of the kind of heartless, soulless, callous tyranny against which our ancestors have fought for centuries then we had better yield to the Russian and Chinese Communists, whose methods we often seem to be imitating so sedulously and who are so much more efficient at this kind of oppression than we are.”

Security Risk Firings Increase In American Air Force

During the past two years the Air Force has stepped up activity in connection with its security program, a recent report to Congress indicates.

As compared to only 15 cases developed in the two years of 1951 and 1952, the Air Force reveals it has filed security risk charges against 260 uniformed personnel in 1953 and 1954. This includes 37 instances where the officers or airmen were fired for security reasons. Fifty-nine other airmen were cleared after charges had been filed.



United Press Photo
Communists Turn Out in Streets of Rome in May Day Demonstration of Strength and for Propaganda

Already in 1955 the Air Force has filed 16 security cases in two months and of these six have been discharged, one cleared and nine separated before their cases were concluded.

When a Member of Congress asked Maj. Gen. J. F. Carroll if any of the men discharged were "Russian spies or Communists" he replied, "All of them were deemed to have backgrounds or beliefs which indicated that they had either an affiliation with the Communist movement or sympathetic association with individuals who were affiliated with the Communist movement." None were actual spies, he said.

Among the civilian Air Force personnel there were 1,185 security cases in 1953 and 1954, with 27 fired for loyalty reasons, 413 cases unfinished because the employees transferred to other agencies, died or resigned and 745 were cleared.

Young Leftist Groups in Drive

The "adult" section of the "Americans For Democratic Action," leftist movement which injects itself into political campaigns in behalf of leftists whom they can squeeze through as nominees in either major party, and the efforts of which are to give rebirth to the Socialistic aspects of the old New Deal, if their balance of power in politics swells to the extent that the CIO-Reuthers of the ADA can swing the majority of the CIO-AFL union membership, and James Patton of the National Farmers Union and of the ADA can swing the membership of the farmer group to their folds, in the formation of a labor-farmer government, patterned after the Fabian Socialist Labor Government which ruled and ruined England economically in recent years and made of it a fourth-rate power internationally, held its annual national conclave in Washington some 60 days ago, the story on which appeared in the May edition of NATIONAL REPUBLIC.

Now that the adults have their affairs well in hand and are out on the road in their drive in the 1956 election campaigns for victory, the "Students For Democratic Action," the youth section, operating chiefly on the campuses of American universities, have scheduled their national convention for John Hopkins University, Baltimore, June 16 to 19.

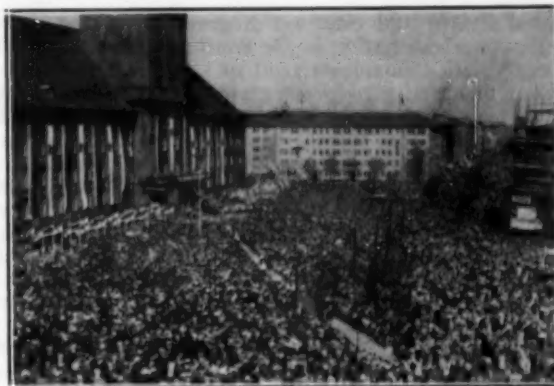
Leftist Student Drive Financed by New Yorker

Preceding the convention, an arrangement meeting of the national board of the young Socialist movement operating as SDA, met in Philadelphia in May to lay plans for the Baltimore meet, and to arrange too, for a National Assembly of Youth to be held at Oberlin College, Ohio, in September, the theme of which will be "Freedom in Balance." The slogan for the SDA national convention is to be "Liberation in 1955." The USAY (Oberlin) is sponsored partly by the Young Adult Council, a coordinating council of some 16 youth movements including the SDA. The USAY headquarters are in Washington, D. C.

At the Philadelphia board meeting of SDA, it is understood that an announcement was made of a coordinated membership drive in American colleges and universities as well as private institutions of higher education, to culminate in time for a favorable report of progress to the national convention in Baltimore.

Gerry Kramer, SDA Education Director, announced a "large" contribution had been given for the drive by Dorothy Shiff, publisher of the leftwing *New York Post*. This was not the first "large" contribution given the young leftists by her, according to information.

Placed in charge of the drive were: Karl Levin, of



United Press Photo

Non-Communist Western Germany Turns Out in May Day Demonstration of Non-Communist Nature

Swarthmore College, (chairman); Christopher Neibuhr (Harvard); Barry Keating (University of Connecticut); David Bardin (Columbia); Harold Semling (American University), and Joan Parnes, of the New York SDA Region Committee.

SDA sources claim chapters on many American campuses, including the above and Radcliff, Oberlin, Denver, Ohio-Wesleyan, University of Chicago, University of Minnesota, Oregon State and Hunter.

Donald Wertheim, is National Chairman of the SDA at present. In its membership campaign, the SDA has included a subscription drive to be staged by its leaders to increase the circulation of the *Progressive*, the *New Republic* and the *Reporter*, three leftwing journals. The publications have extended cut-rates in subscriptions to the SDA. The organization has also adopted a book selling plan, to include, "Grand Inquest—The Story of Congressional Investigations," by Telford Taylor, of the ADA; "Government by Investigation," by Alan Barth; "John Maynard Keynes," by Seymour Harris; "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties," by Samuel Stouffer, and "Common Sense and World Affairs," by Dorothy Fosdick.

Red Plot Exposed in Denver

A Communist plot for Mexican-Americans to establish a new Red nation in the Southwestern part of the



United Press Photo

Communist East Germany Goose-Steps to Tune of Communist Internationale, May Day Exhibiting Huge Placards of Stalin, Grotewohl and Ulbricht, Latter Red Dictators over Their Land

United States and then aid Negroes in setting up a Negro-American nation in the Southeast, was disclosed recently at a Communist trial in Denver.

Four men and three women are on trial for conspiring to teach violent overthrow of the Government.

Bellarmino Joe Duran, undercover agent for the Government told of various activities of the defendants. He said Harold Zepelin, one of the defendants had advocated the separate nation plan. He said he attended a meeting in Denver at which Mrs. Patricia Blau urged the Reds to "take over" the National Association of Mexican Americans "because it is necessary to organize the Southwest Mexicans so they can overthrow the capitalists."

Ray Moorehead, Arizona dairy farmer who told of joining the Communist Party in 1947 to work for the FBI, identified Bary and Lewis M. Johnson as having conducted Communist meetings near Phoenix.

Ousted UNESCO Americans Ordered Reinstated

America got another example of how the authority of the United Nations exceeds the authority of the United States over our own citizens when the UN tribunal at Geneva ordered the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to reinstate three Americans, fired for refusing to appear before a U. S. Loyalty Board.

The Americans are David L. N. Leff, 37; Peter Duberg, 44; and Mrs. Annette Wilcox, 47.

The tribunal said, "Loyalty to a state is entirely different from the idea of integrity as embodied in the (UNESCO) staff regulations and rules."

The American head of UNESCO refused to renew the contracts of the three persons after the loyalty board episode and he held their attitude was "incompatible with the high standards of integrity" required by the organization.

The tribunal held it was an "abuse of rights" for him to drop them. The UNESCO head has the choice of complying with the order of the tribunal or paying Leff \$12,800 and Duberg and Mrs. Wilcox \$15,000 each in addition to \$300 legal fees.

Battle Against Reds in Schools Rages

The drive of the New York City Board of Education to further sift school faculties in an effort to drive out the Communists within its folds, has produced ten additional resignations it has been disclosed. Altogether 113 New York City teachers have quit their jobs rather than go through with the questioning about their previous Red party connections.

The latest resignations were from a group of 57 teachers recently called before the investigating board. Under a school board action suspected teachers are asked whether they are or have been members of the Communist Party. If they admit past membership they are asked whether there were other teachers in the Red cell to which they belonged, and if so to name them. Four of the group refused to take an oath in connection with their testimony, 16 testified under oath and the cases of ten are pending.

In another group of 17 teachers who admitted former Communist Party membership, six refused to name any teacher fellow-travelers, one refused to swear, four gave required information, three resigned and three cases are pending.

The Board of Education reveals that of all those



United Press Photo

East Germany Young Men Dressed in Russian Military Attire and Under Russian Generalship, March in May Day Parade in East Berlin, Pledged to Fight for World Communism Instead of World Nazism.

questioned since the drive began, there are 71 teachers who admitted past Red party membership who have now convinced the board they have made a clean break with the Communist organizations.

The Teachers Union, which is seeking funds to fight the board's current investigation in New York, and first exposed by Walter S. Steele, editor of NATIONAL REPUBLIC, and which was later ousted from the CIO for Communist domination, has offered to return money contributed by groups which thought the money-raising drive had support of certain civic groups. The union denied listing the civic groups in its literature. Eight groups have asked to have their names removed from the Teacher Union fund-raising literature.

The eight groups to be caught in the net of the Teachers Union campaign for the repeal of the Fienberg Law, under which Reds in education are being apprehended, include the Americans For Democratic Action, American Jewish Congress, Citizens Committee on Children, Citizens Union, New York Board of

(See ENEMY WITHIN OUR GATES, Page 28)



United Press Photo

Red May Day Turnout in Streets of London, England

COMMUNIST MENACE ABROAD

By PAUL R. BISH



Mr. Bish

The American and British public are being propagandized into the belief that the making of the recent Austrian treaty at Vienna, freeing Austria from Russian rule, is a sign of a change of heart by the Russians, and brightens the possibility of a complete change in world affairs through which the world will again live in peace.

Secretary Dulles gloats over the success of the Western powers in forcing the Austria treaty on Russia. President Eisenhower merely says he is hopeful of peace. Franco of Spain is seemingly more realistic. He warns that the recent "milder approach of Russia and world Communism in international affairs (at Vienna) was merely a change in tactics and not in aims." He warns the world against "the perils of co-existence" with world Communism, its atheism and slavery system.

What are the facts? Russia occupied Austria under the Yalta agreement. Like its grab of other border countries, the military rule was to be only for the duration of the war, immediately after which, the countries, including Austria, were to be permitted to hold free, unhampered elections, the governments to be freed again from occupational forces.

Austria, when taken over by Russia, like other countries occupied by the Allies, had been under either Nazi, Fascist or Japanese rule. Russia drew occupation of Austria, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. It had previously grabbed and annexed Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and a corner of Finland. The status of the latter countries were given no consideration at Yalta, therefore Russia's grabs were in effect legalized. No occupying force was to lay claim for reparation against the occupied countries. In fact it was assumed, such occupying forces would stabilize the economies of such countries, preparing them for free elections and liberation.

In Austria, as all other countries occupied by Russia, the wealth of the country was immediately siphoned into Russia. Russia looted Austria of millions of dollars of Nazi's assets; followed with the dismantling of factories and plants which were shipped to Russia. Estimates the first year of occupation, fixed the figure at some 63,778 pieces of machinery, such as metal working machinery, locomotives and the machinery of that industry. Total for the ten years of occupation will possibly never be known. Russia decided that everything in Austria were German assets, since Hitler had expropriated everything. The Soviets under this guise, seized the assets of some 300 different enterprises valued at an estimated \$700 million. In 1947, Russia demanded permanent possession of these properties, and insisted on two-thirds of Austria's oil production, three-fourths of its refineries, all of the Danube Shipping Company, 41 per cent of Austria's largest bank and complete control of four of the larger banks, plus control of Austria's insurance companies.

Under the recent agreement, it is claimed that Russia promised to give up its claim to the oil industries, but only under the condition that Austria give Russia 10 million metric tons (72 million barrels) of oil over the next ten years. It promised to give up claim to the Danube Shipping Company's assets, providing Austria give Russia \$2 million dollars. It promised to give up claims on 300 enterprises, providing Austria give Russia Austrian goods equivalent of \$150 million.

The treaty signed by the big powers, United States, France and Britain, is said to contain these provisions. It recognizes Russia's right to collect. Austria in other words is now in a strait-jacket for ten years or more, unless Uncle Sam prevails on the American taxpayer to underwrite the Austrian debt so it can float bonds, which may go by default, or which may be written off later.

What has Austria received? A supposed freedom from Russian rule. An organized treacherous fifth-column behind its lines built throughout its country during Russia's ten years of occupation and rule; an obligation to pay Russia in cash \$350 million during the next ten years. One hundred and fifty million dollars in Austrian goods for six years. Seventy-two million barrels of oil during the next ten years; and no refund for the theft already perpetrated by Russia during the past ten years.

If there ever was a tougher deal, let us see it. Yes, Russia is supposed to surrender the direct control of the land and over the people by withdrawing its armed forces from Austria. The "diplomats" acting the part of the government dictators over these will be left in Austria, to "administer" Russia's interests, collecting on the mortgage, to select and expedite the shipments of merchandise Austria is obligated to constantly ship into Russia for six to ten years, to "clear up" business of occupation forces, and to serve as agents in diplomatic and trade agencies.

If you as an individual had been in prison for ten years, had most of your assets dissipated, and you were freed under a mortgage which would absorb every possible earning for ten more years under penalty of being remanded to prison, how free would you feel?

Next door to Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, not to say anything of Albania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and East Germany, Austria is at all times in an armed pocket, for a few days prior to the Austrian treaty-making, the same Russian "peace" messengers, the "softened up" dictators of slavery and atheism, forged an eight-power agreement which united seven East European countries into a unified military armed force under a single Soviet command, to battle the non-Communist nations at Russia's beck and call.

Meantime, Russia demands for the forthcoming peace gathering, that the United States abandon all of its outlying air bases, troop bases, supply bases, withdraw all forces to our mainland, and to keep hands off in the Far East.

Russia is past master in its deals. It builds up an impossible demand, and "weakens" in the face of the opposition, accepting a "compromise" constituting what it had estimated originally to be a full pocket for the Reds. Like at Yalta, at Poland, at Korea, at Geneva, now at Vienna Russia marches off with old and new loot. World Communism advances again on the weakness of its enemy. It can say it does not use armed force in its conquest. It can say it obtained its concessions in a legal procedure. But the fact is, it continues its world march of aggression. Its conquest by "peaceful" methods is more certain, more lasting, and cheaper, than by military force.

THE ENEMY WITHIN OUR GATES

(Continued from Page 26)

Rabbis, New York Civil Liberties Union, Public Education Association, and the United Parents Association. They contend they still stand against the law, but had not consented to the use of their names in the campaign against the law staged by the Red Teachers Union.

Dudley David Strauss, an instructor in English at New York's Queens College, has been given a hearing before the board after refusing to answer certain questions put to him in the board investigation. He has been suspended. At this hearing it was pointed out the main issue involved was "May a member of the faculty staffs of our colleges refuse to answer questions as to whether he was a member of the Communist Party?"

Prof. Strauss, during the questioning involved, said he was not a Communist after September 24, 1953, when the State's Fienberg anti-Communist law went into effect, but he refused to say whether he was a Communist before that time.

The professor's attorney asked whether information against Strauss came from "professional witnesses" such as Matusow, the turnabout witness. The school board attorney retorted that Matusow was not used "in any form, shape or manner" in the pending case.

Corliss Lamont Leaves Columbia University

Facing trial on a contempt indictment, Corliss Lamont who refused to answer some 23 questions put to him by a Congressional committee concerning alleged Communist associations, has withdrawn as a lecturer at Columbia University, the school has revealed.

Under questioning by the Senate Internal Security Committee, Lamont defied the Senators on the ground they had no right to inquire into the private affairs of a man who is not connected with the Federal Government.

In a statement concerning his withdrawal from Columbia, Lamont made it clear "there is no dismissal or suspension involved."

Lamont has been involved in numerous leftwing causes that have been packed with reds, but he has denied being a Communist.

Prof. John L. Childs, Professor Emeritus of Columbia University's Teachers College and an educator with a leftist record, has had published a "letter to the editor," in a New York paper in which he takes the position "we do not have to accept the totalitarian doctrine that the State has jurisdiction over all aspects of the personal lives of its citizens and teachers." His letter also referred to "the recent tendency to erode basic freedoms in the passion to root out Communists."

N. Y. Educator Exposes Red's Youth Drive

Communist teachers are "under instructions to recruit members from among the student body to spread strife and disorder and to capitalize on discontent among students," Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of New York's City College has declared.

His statement was made in connection with a Academic Freedom Week program at the college.

On the same program George Sokolsky, columnist for the *New York Journal American*, held there should be "no place in an institution of this sort for a man who lacks the quality to build character."

A Socialist speaker, as might be expected, took the opposite view. He was Joseph Glass, former candidate for the State Senate on the Socialist ticket. Also



United Press Photo

Dr. Bella V. Dodd, Former Teacher at Hunter College, New York City, Legislative Chairman of Teachers Union and of Communist Party. As an Ex-Communist Exposed Red Penetration in Schools

taking an opposing view was Sheldon Ackley, of the American Civil Liberties Union who said the tenure of teachers "should not be abrogated because of their associations outside the classroom."

"Permanent Wave" Fortune Goes to Socialists

A student at Yale who has tried to turn his back on a \$350,000 estate left him by his father has tossed a large hunk of the proceeds to the Socialist Party. He is Eugene F. Suter, Jr., son of the inventor of the permanent wave machine. His father died in 1943, decreeing that when the son was 21 he was to get income accumulated from the estate, at 30 a fourth of the estate, at 35 a third of the balance. Of \$30,000 of the proceeds he has given \$5,000 to Socialists and has appeared in court to renounce the whole inheritance for "moral and political reasons." He is now 23 and insists he can get along on his own.

Two new organs of the Young Communist Youth Labor League have made their appearance on a number of campuses. One is entitled "Campus Sense" and the other, a four-page tabloid, without title, made its ap-



United Press Photo

Red China Refuses to Back Down on Formosa Threats. Zhou En-lai Red China's Dictator Restates Determination to "Free" Formosa

pearance on the campus of Hunter College a few weeks ago. It is evident that the latter is issued by the youth section of the Socialist Labor Party, the official organ of which is *Weekly People*.

The State Board of Education in Georgia has recently banned three textbooks from public education, among them are: "Our Changing Social Order," by Ruth Wood Gavian; H. A. Gray and Ernest Groves, "American Land of Freedom" and "Together We Sing."

Socialist Essay Effort Squelched by Board

The Socialist Party's attempt to spread its propaganda in the public schools of the City of New York through an essay contest was squelched by the Board of Education.

The topic of the Socialist backed contest would have been, "How Cooperative Enterprise Has Helped Make America Great."

Norman Singer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party said, in the party's offer to the board, "We think that the topic we have suggested would be educationally valuable as an incentive for students to investigate trends in America's historical development and as an aid in individual guidance in preparation for future citizenship and personal social behavior."

The Board of Education told Singer, "it is not the policy of the Board of Education to ask or to permit essays in the public schools sponsored by political parties."

The Socialists were not satisfied with the reply and sent back a letter which was critical of the decision and offering to offer the contest in the name of the League for Industrial Democracy.

The Socialists made it apparent they were pushing their project boosting the cooperative movement as a counterattack on the contest sponsored by the New York Chamber of Commerce under the heading of "How Free Enterprise Has Helped to Make America Great."

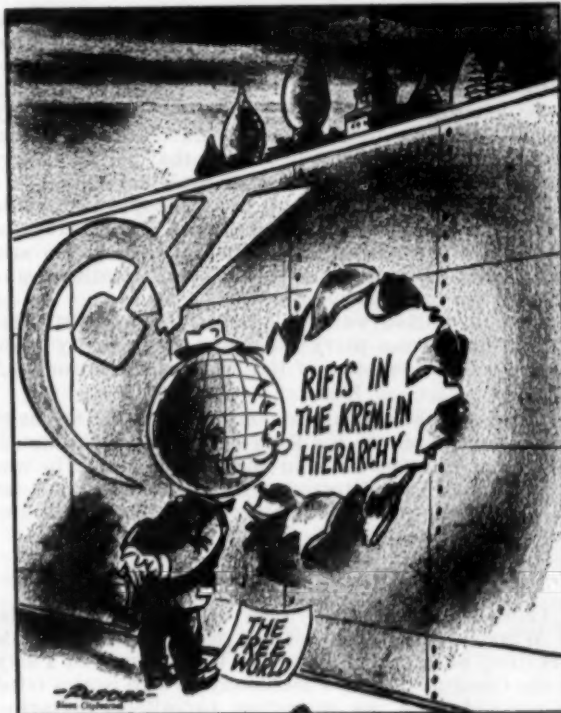
Congressional Committee in New Jersey

The House Committee on Un-American Activities which has been holding hearings throughout the country, recently moved into New Jersey, in its investigation of subversives within the educational and labor union ranks.

The first witness, heard in executive hearings, testified as a secret undercover agent for the FBI, name withheld from publication, testified concerning nine Communists units presently operating in Newark. These are known in Red ranks as Westside, Ironbound, Third Ward, Professional, Doctors, Teachers, Olgin, Youth and Orange Clubs.

The witness named 75 individuals known to him to be members of these Red clubs. Between 25 and 30 witnesses are reported under subpoena as this edition goes to press. Most of these according to the committee are Newark public school teachers, and officials of various leftist units, including United Electrical Workers Union.

Among the first witnesses heard, was Ernest Pollock, one-time field organizer of the United Electrical Workers Union, who said he was ordered to join the Communist Party at the time he became union organizer, in 1940 and he resigned in 1950. He was business agent for Local 437 and said some members of the board of the local were known Communists. He also claimed as Treasurer of local district 4, he was later ordered to sign blank checks on the union's funds and had no knowledge of the final disbursements of the funds. The committee ran into immediate defiance from Communist official Charles Nusser, often exposed in these columns, who defied the committee as a witness.



Weakness from Within

Meantime, the McClellan committee of the Senate has laid plans to investigate subversives in vital defense plants.

North-South Carolina Red Convicted

Six years in the Federal penitentiary has been imposed on Junius Irving Scales, 35, son of a prominent North Carolina family, after a jury deliberated only an hour and a half to hold him guilty of advocating the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States. The trial was held at Greensboro, N. C., and sentence was imposed by Federal Judge Albert V. Bryan.

Scales' mother had posted the \$35,000 bond by which he gained freedom during the trial, and following the sentencing, as defense attorneys were granted an appeal.

Scales did not deny party membership, but insisted that "My party has never advocated force and violence. I have never advocated force and violence. The current activity of my party is devoted especially toward avoiding the force and violence involved in an atomic war on Formosa or anywhere else."

Three accredited witnesses carried the brunt of the Government's case. One was an ex-Communist who was kicked out of the party after holding membership for 20 years and the other two were FBI undercover agents.

Ralph Clontz, graduate of Duke University who volunteered his services to the FBI said he was sponsored in the party by Scales. He said he had been a secret member of the party and gradually worked his way up in party ranks. He said Scales arranged for him to attend the Jefferson School of Social Science, the Red party's school in New York.

He said among other things Scales told him that the revolution is inevitable and that Clontz' year-old

daughter would "marry in a Socialist United States." He said to party members, "Socialism means Communism."

He testified that Scales told him, "there would have to be a militant force, namely the Communist Party, to unite the two classes of people in this country that would be used in the revolution, that is, the Negro nation and the working class or proletariat."

"In order to get the truth to the people you would first have to destroy the Government and destroy the mediums of communications controlled by the Government, including newspapers and radio stations, and destroy the institutions of Government."

"The revolution would be easier than the 1917 Red revolution because party leaders in this country could draw on the experience of the Russian revolutionists," he said.

Clontz said he was under instructions from Scales to do "research" on the Ku Klux Klan and on the Erwin Mills and Cannon Mills in North Carolina. He was also directed to infiltrate large organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Reds List Organizations to Be Infiltrated

Another Government witness was Charles B. Childs, of Winston-Salem. From the witness stand Childs identified Scales as chairman of the Communist Party in the Carolinas. In his testimony he said Scales tried to persuade him not to return to college, declaring "trade unions are the schools of the revolution."

One important phase of Childs' testimony referred to a school for about 15 selected Communists which he said was held on the isolated farm of Mr. and Mrs. William Binkley, near Walnut Grove, N. C. Childs said the school was directed by Scales who told the students "each person's life must be based on the fact that he is serving the Communist Party."

He said Scales also told the Communists that organizations such as the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, Quakers, veterans groups, and the parent-teacher associations, can be "utilized" in promoting the Red party's "tactical struggle for peace."

Binkley identified himself to the students as a union organizer in the South, Childs said, and declared that "The capitalists of the United States will not surrender peacefully."

Childs said he became interested in Communism while a student at the High Point High School and later volunteered his services to the FBI.

Educators Appear in Defense of Red

The third Government witness was John Lautner, for 20 years a party member. His testimony featured evidence tending to show the party advocates overthrow of the Government by force.

One of those testifying in Scales' behalf was Prof. Robert S. Cohen, of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., who identified himself as an expert on Marxism. His testimony had to do with whether Reds in this country consider force and violence necessary in this country. Mrs. A. M. Scales, mother of the defendant, said her son was a Communist only because he "wanted to be helpful to his fellowmen."

She claimed Scales denied to her he ever had in mind the Reds now in this country could overthrow the Government. Scales is grandnephew of a North Carolina Governor of seven decades ago.

Others who appeared as defense witnesses were Prof. Fletcher Green and Prof. Raymond Adams, of the University of North Carolina and Rev. Charles Jones of the Community Church of Chapel Hill.

N. Y. Governor Vetoes Anti-Red Bill

A bill to bar Reds from jury service in New York State has been vetoed by Governor Harriman. The Governor said his veto was for "technical" reasons. Harriman was once the New Deal's Ambassador to Moscow and took part in the Yalta yield to Russia.

The proposal passed by the Legislature would have prohibited members of the Communist Party or a member of "any party or organization which advocates, advises, or teaches the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence," from being members of juries.

Labor Union Leaders Oppose Security In Defense Industry

In spite of existing security regulations in effect in the Nation's industrial plants, there are still "a few thousand" defense plant workers who might under certain circumstances, the Defense Department fears, commit sabotage or espionage in a crisis. Wilber M. Brucker, general counsel for the Defense Department, appeared before the Senate Internal Security Committee calling for stronger legislation to protect defense industries. He called it a deplorable gap in the security structure with which the department cannot cope under the present laws.

The "few thousand" estimate was made by Jerome D. Fenton, a member of the Defense Department Industrial Personnel Security Review Unit. The FBI knows the exact number, he indicated. In line with the

During the long period starting with World War I, a positive effort has been made by so-called internationalists to play down America, to lessen the normal feeling of a person for the soil of his birth, to point up the wonders of other countries which do not approach ours in standards of life.

General MacArthur, from his vast experience, wipes away the falsehoods of these teachings and calls upon our people to return their minds and hearts to America.

In one of the speeches, he warned against the seductive murmurs that patriotism is outmoded and he called upon Americans to reject the idea that . . . "we have become dependent on other nations for our being and for our welfare."

What nobler thought can be given to our youth than this:

" . . . You are as young as your faith, as old as your doubt; as young as your self-confidence, as old as your fear; as young as your hope, as old as your despair. In the central place of every heart there is a recording chamber; so long as it receives messages of beauty, hope, cheer and courage, so long are you young. When the wires are all down and your heart is covered with the snows of pessimism and the ice of cynicism, then, and then only are you grown old—and then, indeed, as the ballad says, you just fade away."

The General does not fade away, nor will America.

We are in the youth of our enthusiasm and love of country.

We are approaching the era of our greatness.

All that is required of us, as a people, is that we should revive patriotism, that we should restore a love of country which has always been characteristic of our people.

—New York Mirror

Defense Department's recommendation, legislation is being drafted for presentation to Congress. It will contain protection for workers within the Constitution.

Mr. Brucker said, "I appear before you with the knowledge there are known subversives now working in vital defense facilities without there being adequate authority in the Federal Government to meet this potential threat to our productive capabilities and therefore to our military effectiveness."

No country-wide screening is planned but the Defense Department wants the right to remove "known" risks from critical positions.

During the hearings the threat to the Nation's communication system was discussed, it being pointed out that the American Communications Association has repeatedly been accused of being Red-dominated. Coded and uncoded messages pass through these channels.

The CIO, AFL, Americans For Democratic Action, and American Veterans Committee are among those so far announcing their opposition to proposed new security laws governing defense plant workers.

May Day in New York City

The policy of patriotic groups staging meetings on May Day to counter Red and leftwing organizations is beginning to show its effectiveness in the larger cities where the Reds traditionally parade their banners on that day.

In New York City the Reds came off second best because patriotic groups got the jump on them and obtained permits for meetings in spots normally favored by the rabble rousers of the left.

About 2,500 persons are estimated to have attended the May Day demonstration of Reds in Union Square. The usual tirades against the domestic and foreign policies of the Government of the United States were spewed out by speakers.

It was "old home week" for the lefties as the usual array of orators appeared one after the other. They

included Doxey Wilkerson, former New Deal officeholder and Communist, now of the Jefferson School of Social Science; Albert H. Kahn the co-publisher of the book of the admitted liar Harvey Matusow; William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress; Howard Fast, the novelist and Paul Robeson, the singer.

Ex-convicts from the Red ranks, George Blake Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg, recently out of prison from a term for conspiring to teach the overthrow of our Government, were other decorations on the Red program.

Another ex-convict who left the country rather than go to prison for Red activities sent a message to American fellow-travelers from Poland. He is Irving Potash, a former head of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union.

Leo Linzer presided at the Red festivities in Union Square. He said he was a rank and file member of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union.

The Socialists had their usual May Day pow-wow too, in New York. The presiding officer at their meeting was Samuel H. Freedman, chairman of the party. The keynoter was Jacob T. Zukerman, of the Workmen's Circle, who told the crowd of about 700 persons that, "those of us who are Socialists and who have been eager to replace Capitalism with a more just economic system are now aware of the far greater enemy than Capitalism in the world about us."

Senator Criticized for Appearance

Senator William Langer, North Dakota "liberal" Republican, finds himself on the receiving end of much criticism as the result of his participation in a meeting sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, sometimes referred to as an anti-anti-Communist outfit. Billed with him on the same program was Harvey O'Connor, of Rhode Island, who has been cited for contempt by a Senate committee for refusal to say whether he was ever a Communist.

CHINA

(Continued from Page 2)

ners. Reports from the mainland disclose that a secret-ballot plebiscite under United Nations supervision would oust the Red regime by approximately 90 per cent to 10. Since 1950, more than 15 million Chinese "reactionaries" have been sentenced to death by the village Communist courts, and 25 million have been sent to slave labor camps. Millions more have died of starvation. This summary of the real situation inside China continues: "Any international development unfavorable to the Communists may touch off a serious revolt on the mainland to encompass the complete downfall of the Peiping regime. It is certain that if a free and secret ballot could be taken more than 95 per cent of the Chinese people on the mainland would vote to overthrow the Communist regime."

This is the one great reason why the Kremlin gangsters cannot tolerate a free government on Formosa. So long as Formosa remains free and secure, the island

stands as an everlasting symbol of hope to almost 600 million people on the mainland for ultimate liberation. Extinguish Formosa as that shining emblem of hope —by whatever contrivance of appeasement—and you at once enchain all China in the bonds of perpetual Communist slavery.

To cede Matsu and Quemoy to Communism would be to signal a worldwide recognition of the Kremlin domination of all China. Why not cede Hong Kong to Red China? That island is much closer to the mainland than either Quemoy or Matsu.

The growing Communist prattle about peace is the most gigantic historical hoax of all times. General Alfred M. Gruenther, Supreme Commander of the NATO forces in Europe, described Russian militarism in detail, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as recently as March 26, 1955.

He estimated the Russian ground forces at 4.5 million to 5 million men.

"That constitutes 175 land divisions—for the most part good divisions; some 20,000 aircraft; a relatively weak surface navy; but a good, strong submarine fleet. In addition there are the satellite forces,

consisting of about 80 divisions."

This is the military force developed by "peace-loving" Communism since 1945.

As General Gruenther told the Senate Committee, "They are the biggest hypocrites in the world."

He illustrated. A recent Bulganin broadcast from Moscow carried the words—"The invariable principle of Soviet foreign policy is the Leninist principle of the co-existence of the different social systems."

That's the peace front speech today, when Russia wants us to throw away all our atom bombs, to withdraw our troops from encirclement of the Red lands and the dismantling of our airports and bases abroad. But what did Lenin actually say on the subject of "peaceful co-existence?" He said, simply: "... the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. Before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable. This means that if the ruling class in the USSR, the proletariat, wants to hold sway, it must prove

its ability to do so by military organization also."

Does that sound like peaceful co-existence?

Shall we try one more gesture of appeasement in Red China?

BRAINWASHING

(Continued from Page 22)

Boston University then explained to the breathless audience that they would acquire skills of social action and answers to the social problems confronting all of them. Most important, they would find effective ways for reaching agreement in the solution of these problems through the integration of differences. The goal of Marxist uniformity again!

Miss Carter tells that the course rapidly became more rugged. At nine in the morning they started "theory sessions." From ten to ten thirty at night they were still struggling with informal evaluations. She says the T (Theory Sessions) Groups were an unusual experience. Nineteen adults sat around an elliptical table for three weeks, trying to become a cohesive group. What ever happened to their sense of humor?

In a moment of candor, Miss Carter says that it was often difficult for her to see that any progress was being made. Frequently discussion seemed aimless and pointless. But gradually her resistance was broken down. "Members learned by bitter experience to expect and accept group restraint when they seemed to be threatening group solidarity. "Consensus" was the goal.

So the days went by rapidly "developing awareness of one's own modes of reacting in a group," "realizing the importance of valid consensus," "role playing." Finally the three weeks in duration ended. Miss Carter says when the last day came, we were not averse to saying good-bye although many of us had developed deep respect and genuine liking for each other.

But at least she is conditioned. She is now aware of task-oriented groups and how to work toward social change, to dramatize mental health problems and to seek cohesiveness.

Here and there in her account, some most peculiar observations obtrude: "Secret' sessions were held in dormitory rooms; buzz groups on the lawn; ethical standards were abandoned by some groups as they saw their power waning. *Feelings ran very high and a few individuals who felt the pressure of conflicting interests were extremely disturbed emotionally . . .* Mob psychology is a very interesting phenomenon for study . . . The high level of interest and excitement had drained us of much vitality . . . the spark was missing for most of us."

Musing over her experiences, Miss Carter concludes: "I might have maintained contact with mundane affairs and thus been

saved some of the emotional involvement which has been hard to shake off . . . I know myself better; but because I'm not sure I like all the things I've learned about myself, I shall try in definite ways to modify my behavior."

Seriously, WHAT GIVES at the National Training Laboratory in Bethel, Me.?

(Editor's Note: It is understood that the above affair is co-sponsored by the National Education Association and the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan. A story on group dynamics emanating from the University of Michigan, and the NEA (Adult Educational Service) appeared in the January, 1955, NATIONAL REPUBLIC.)

STAR AND STRIPES

(Continued from Page 16)

(Ex-Fort Stanwix) during the early days of August, 1777.

This detailed report was first published in the *New York Journal and Advertiser* on August 18, 1777. On August 21, 1777, it was published by the *Hartford Courant*; and on August 29, 1777, it was published in the *Connecticut Gazette*.

Lieutenant Colonel Willett's published report concludes with a reference to the captured British flags with these words: "The five colors, the whole of which on our return to fort were displayed on our flag staff under the Continental flag."

Willett, who was an eye witness of the making and hoisting of the first stars and stripes, some years later, wrote that the improvised flag was made of "white stripes cut out of ammunition shirts and blue strips out of the cloak formerly taken from the enemy at Peek-skill. The red stripes out of different piece of stuff collected from sundry persons. The flag was sufficiently large and a general exhilaration of spirits appeared on beholding it wave the morning after the arrival of the enemy."

Willett's usage of the term "blue strips" meant that a number of pieces of Captain Abraham Swartwout's blue cloak were required to make the blue field, or union, of the flag adopted by the Continental Congress.

Neither Willett nor Cobrath mention that the standard, which they were pleased to call the "Continental Flag" of Fort Schuyler (Ex-Fort Stanwix) had a St. Andrews cross. They like other contemporary writers referred to our national flag as the "Continental Flag." This was perfectly natural since they were both soldiers in the Continental Army; and the resolution for the design of our national standard was passed by the Continental Congress.

A year after the first display of the stars and stripes at Fort Schuyler (Ex-Fort Stanwix), August 29, 1778, Captain Abraham Swartwout wrote a letter to Colonel Peter Gansevoort. This letter, which is now in the New York Public Library, says among other things: "You may remember I was to have an order for eight yards of

broadcloth on the commissary for clothing of this State in lieu of my blue cloak which was used for colours at Fort Schuyler."

Each of the five schools of thought on the first display of the stars and stripes are entitled to their respective opinion. Considerably more could have been written in behalf of the Fort Schuyler (Ex-Fort Stanwix) persuasion. But, sufficient was written to indicate the strength of their position. And no matter where the stars and stripes were displayed: "She's a grand Old Flag!"

DREAM

(Continued from Page 21)

a century later at the convent of St. Catherine at Benica, where she had retired as a nun. Nicholai's constancy was never to be proven.

Rezanov reached Alaska with his cargo of food and in September, 1806, he started his long trek across Siberia to European Russia. The journey over the frozen wastelands with its hideous implications of cold and privations was never to be completed. At Yakutsk, he was stricken with a fever. Without waiting for recovery, he resumed his attempt to reach St. Petersburg, only to succumb at Krasnoyarsk in March, 1807. His body lies under an altar-shaped stone in the cemetery of that small town in Siberia.

Historians of many countries have accorded Baron Rezanov the reputation of a great and practical dreamer. In the face of Red aggression today it is horrifying to surmise what the fate of the entire West would have been had that shrewd Russian been spared his untimely death and returned to claim the beautiful Concepcion for his bride and to build a new Muscovite Empire.

ATHLETICS

(Continued from Page 6)

teach the young *not to be a quitter*—to see things through to the bitter end, just as you do not quit in a game because you may be losing, the score is against you, the going is rough, and the effort does not seem worth while."

Some athletes and school coaches comfortably believe that "competitive sports are here to stay in our schools, the NEA notwithstanding." Yet the fact remains that the tocsin against competition that has rung harshly in other realms dominated by the academic commissars has now been sounded against competitive sports, training ground for the young. It follows that suppression of competition here, a flagrant violation of simplest natural law, will achieve the expected erosion of the American spirit to win, a conditioning that may yield a race of drab Americans too enfeebled in will to resist further invasion of their divine right to liberty.

TURNING SEARCHLIGHT ON REDS

By Walter S. Steele

The Communist Party line, always reflected in the activities of the fronts and fellow-traveler movements in our country, has been chiefly wound around Russia's international activities and those of Red China. Hands off of China, no war over Formosa and its islands, outlaw the A-Bomb, defeat the Universal Military Training Bill, censure Eisenhower over the bungling of the polio vaccine, Afro-Asia peace parley, free Smith Act victims, May Day demonstrations, enact FEPC laws, down with witchhunts, co-existence, Immigration Act repeal and the like have been emphasized by the party press, in speeches, meetings, demonstrations, organized drives and through pamphlets and books.

As an indication of how many Americans appear to immediately fall in line with some of the Red program, is shown by some of the following actions:

Prime Minister Ali Saastroamidjojo of Indonesia told delegates to the Asian-African Conference he had received a letter from 14 Americans who "wished the conference well."

"The world is tired of oppression, dogma, and war," it said. "We count upon you to develop independent solutions to enunciate the principles of a new society . . . because of great wealth our country continues in ancient superstition which you can no longer afford to tolerate."

The signatures on the letter were: Emily G. Balch, Wellesley, Mass.; Rodger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union, New York City; Van Wyck Brooks, Bridge-water, Conn.; Pearl Buck, New York City; Henry Hitt Crane, Methodist Minister, Detroit, Mich.; Kermit Eby, University of Chicago; Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University; S. Ralph Harlow, Smith College, North-hampton, Mass.; James Hopp, Dean of West Virginia Wesleyan; Homer A. Jack, Unitarian Minister, Evanston, Ill.; Philip Mayer, Universalist Minister, Perry, N. Y.; Lewis Mumford, Amenia, N. Y.; Howard Thurman, Dean of the Chapel; Boston University; Davis Rhys William, Unitarian Minister, Rochester, N. Y.

At about the same time, 47 other Americans who call themselves "liberals" urged President Eisenhower recently to "take immediate steps to extricate the United States and the world from the present menace of war in the Formosa Strait."

They called upon the President in such negotiations "To make clear that the United States will not commit its forces to the defense" of Matsu and Quemoy "and will not permit them to become a cause of war."

Announcement of the telegram to Eisenhower was made by Americans For Democratic Action.

Among those listed as signers were Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt; Norman Thomas, Socialist Leader; W. P. Kennedy, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen; Elmer Davis, former New Deal officeholder; Mrs. India Edwards, Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary; The Rev. John Haynes Holmes; Lloyd K. Garrison; Benjamin V. Cohen, former State Department Adviser; and Harvard Professors Zechariah Chaffee, Jr., Seymour E. Harris, Alvin Hansen and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

"Partisans of Peace" is to be the 1956 campaign slogan of the Americans For Democratic Action, directed by CIO-Reuther, Farmer Union's James Patton, and a roster of old New Deal Democrats, who had a hand in getting us into World War II, after domestic emergencies wore out. It should be "Partisans for War and Emergencies," but that would not get votes. The plan is now written out for the big shove by ADA.

It is reported here, that an anti-American broadcast

from Peiping recently, was delivered by William Stetson Kennedy, a Floridian who has played around in the pro-Communist circles, written several leftist books, played with the KKK and later staged an act, by marching unannounced into the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, clothed in KKK robes and mask, only to be bounced.

Communist propaganda sheets have added several new names to their contributor lists recently—March of Labor, Dan Frank, Richard Nurko, Allen Grayson, Amy Schechter, Steve Riley, Alfred Maund, Robert Monde, John Steuben, Richard Masters, Burt Alpert, Russ Nixon, and George Michaels. New World Review—Jessica Smith (Abt), Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Eslander Robeson, Eula Mendes Figueiredo, Anna Louis Strong, Andrew Stevens, Albert E. Blumberg, A. B. Magil and Herbert Aptheker.

Cedric Henning, Belgrade and Hollywood writer and former editor of the Communist National Guardian, has been ordered deported to England as a Communist Party member.

An underground agent of the Government in the Communist Party states that a Communist Party leader, Abe Osheroff of Brooklyn, told her that they (the Communists) were behind the movie actor's drive against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1947, in behalf of the "Hollywood Ten." A former New York City Police Department undercover agent in the Communist Party testified recently that among those known to her as Communists was Rev. Elliott White. This writer exposed White and wife as members of the Communist Party, three years ago. Congressman Velde of the House Committee on Un-Americanism has called on the Department of Justice to expedite the perjury case against Rev. Jack Mc-Michaels, now of Upper Lake, Calif.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, of New York City, cited by the Department of Justice as subversive, is mailing pro-Soviet propaganda to American doctors throughout the Middlewest, according to word received by **National Republic**. The propaganda, "American-Soviet Facts," is mostly on the advances of health and medical care, under the socialized medicine program of Russia.

So that you may recognize these names of top Communist, enemies of the American system of Government, we make this round-up:

In prison are these top Communists (some ending their term): Gus Hall, Robert Thompson, Dorothy Rose Blumberg, Maurice Braverman, Phil Frankfeld, George Meyers, Roy Wood, Sid Stein, Carl Ross, Alex Bittleman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Betty Gannett, V. J. Jerome, Arnold Johnson, Claudia Jones, Al Lannon, J. Pop Mindel, Pettis Perry, Louis Weinstock, Wm. Weinstone. Awaiting appeals court decisions: David Davis, Walter Lowenfels, Sherman Labowitz, Irving Katz, Thomas Nabried, Robert Klonsky, Joseph Kuzman, Joseph Roberts, Benj. Weiss, Wm. Allan, Thomas Dennis, Nat Ganley, Phil Shatz, Saul Weisman, Helen Winter, Dorothy Healy Connolly, Phil Connolly, Ben Dobbs, Frank Carlson, Ernest Fox, Rose Chernan Kunitz, Carl Lambert, Albert Lima, Al Richmond, Loretta Stack, Frank Spector, Henry Steinberg, Wm. Schneiderman, Oleta O'Connor Yates, Wm. Albertson, Benj. Careuthers, James Dolson, Andrew Onda, Steve Nelson, Irving Weissman, Dorothy Rose Forest, James Forest, Robert Manewitz, Marcus Murphy, Wm. Sentner, John Daschbach, Paul Bowen, Henry Huff, Terry Pettus, Koji Arijosha, Eileen T. Fujimoto, Charles K. Fujimoto, Dwight J. Freeman, Jack Hall, Jack D. Kimoto, and John Reinecke. (Continued in July.)

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